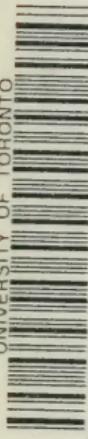
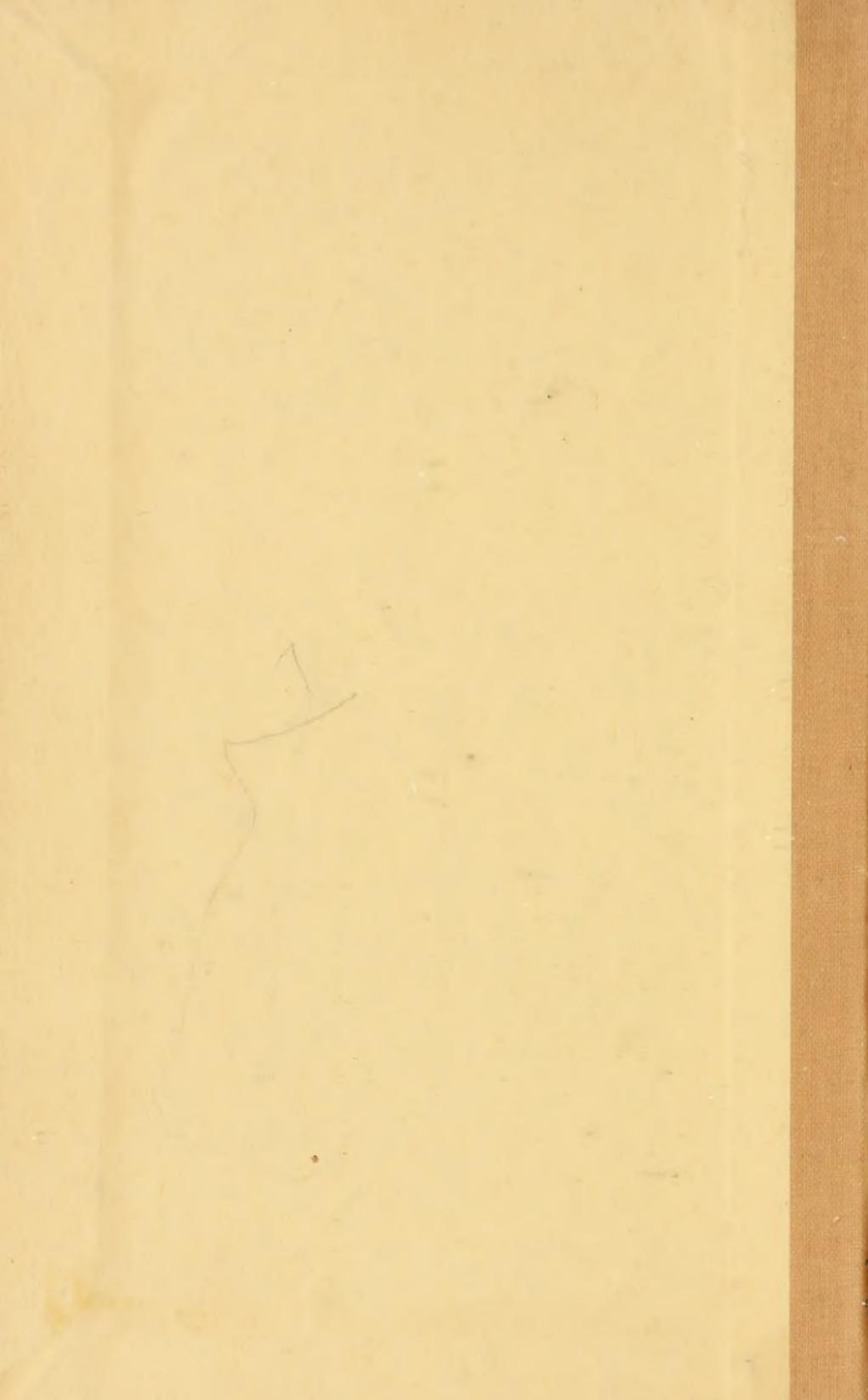
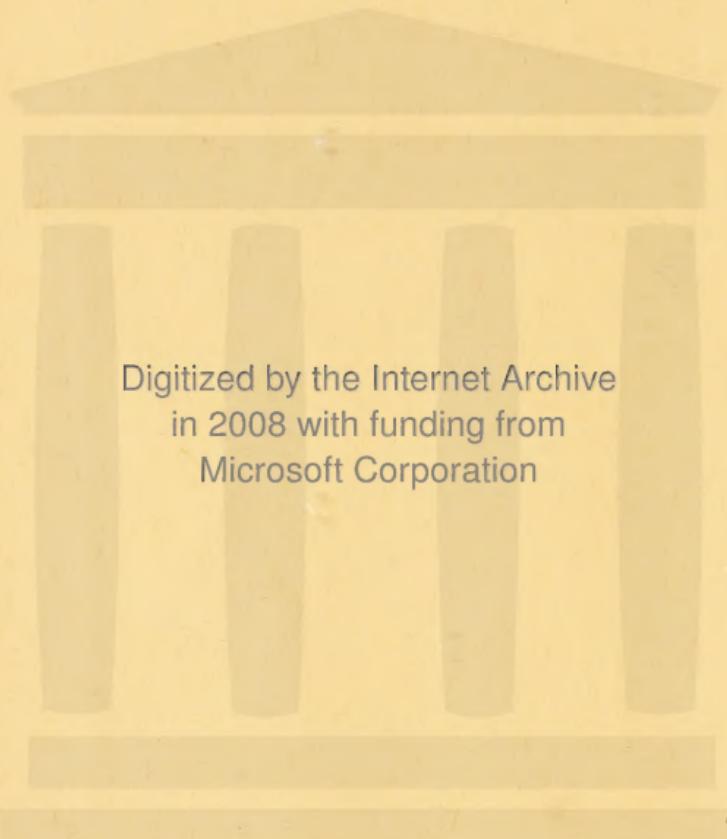


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HERODOTUS IV.

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HERODOTUS

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HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

A. D. GODLEY

HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

IV

BOOKS VIII-IX



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INTRODUCTION

THE following is a brief analysis of the contents of Books VIII and IX, based on the summary in Stein's edition :—

BOOK VIII

Ch. 1–5. The Greek fleet at Artemisium : question of supreme command ; bribery of Themistocles by the Euboeans.

Ch. 6–14. Despatch of a Persian sq on to sail round Euboea, and its destruction by storm. Effect of the storm on the rest of the Persian fleet ; first encounter between the two fleets.

Ch. 15–17. Second battle off Artemisium.

Ch. 18–23. Retreat of the Greeks ; Themistocles' attempt to tamper with the Ionians ; Persian occupation of Euboea.

Ch. 24–33. Visit of Persian sailors to the field of Thermopylae. Olympic festival (26). Feuds of Thessalians and Phocians ; Persian advance through Phocis (27–33).

Ch. 34–39. Persian march through Boeotia, and unsuccessful attempt upon Delphi.

Ch. 40–48. Abandonment of Attica by the Athenians ; the Greek fleet at Salamis.

Ch. 49–55. Greek council of war ; Persian invasion of Attica and occupation of Athens.

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Ch. 56–64. Greek design to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus of Corinth. Decision to remain at Salamis, by Themistocles' advice.

Ch. 65. Dicaeus' vision near Eleusis.

Ch. 66–69. Persian fleet at Phalerum; advice given by Artemisia in a council of war.

Ch. 70–73. Greek fortification of the Isthmus. Digression on the various Peloponnesian nationalities.

Ch. 74–82. Unwillingness of the Peloponnesians to remain at Salamis. Themistocles' design to compel them; his message to Xerxes, and Persian movement to encircle the Greeks. Announcement of this by Aristides.

Ch. 83–96. Battle of Salamis.

Ch. 97–99. Xerxes' intention to retreat; news at Susa of the capture of Athens and the battle of Salamis.

Ch. 100–102. Advice given to Xerxes by Mardonius and Artemisia,

Ch. 103–106. Story of the revenge of Hermotimus.

Ch. 107–110. Flight of Persian fleet, and Greek pursuit as far as Andros; Themistocles' message to Xerxes.

Ch. 111, 112. Siege of Andros, and demands made by Themistocles on various islands.

Ch. 113. Mardonius' selection of his army.

Ch. 114–120. Incidents in Xerxes' retreat.

Ch. 121–125. Greek division of spoil and assignment of honours; Themistocles' reception at Sparta.

Ch. 126–129. Artabazus' capture of Olynthus and siege of Potidaea, during the winter.

Ch. 130–132. Greek and Persian fleets at Aegina and Samos respectively (spring of 479). Leutychides' command. Message to the Greeks from the Ionians.

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Ch. 133–135. Mardonius' consultation of Greek oracles.

Ch. 136–139. Mission to Athens of Alexander of Macedonia; origin of his dynasty.

Ch. 140–144. Speeches at Athens of Alexander and the Spartan envoys; Athenian answer to both.

BOOK IX

Ch. 1–5. Mardonius in Attica; his fresh proposals to the Athenians.

Ch. 6–11. Hesitation of the Spartans to send troops; appeals made by the Athenians; eventual despatch of a force.

Ch. 12–15. Argive warning to Mardonius; his march to Megara and withdrawal thence to Boeotia.

Ch. 16–18. Story of a banquet at Thebes, and Mardonius' test of a Phocian contingent.

Ch. 19–25. The Greeks at Erythrae; repulse of Persian cavalry attack, and death of its leader; Greek change of position.

Ch. 26–27. Rival claim of Tegeans and Athenians for the post of honour.

Ch. 28–32. Battle array of Greek and Persian armies.

Ch. 33–37. Stories of the diviners in the two armies.

Ch. 38–43. Persian attack on a Greek convoy; Mardonius' council of war and determination to fight.

Ch. 44–51. Alexander's warning to the Athenians; attempted change of Greek and Persian formation; Mardonius' challenge to the Spartans, and retreat of Greeks to a new position.

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Ch. 52–57. Flight of the Greek centre; Amompharetus' refusal to change his ground.

Ch. 58–65. Battle of Plataea; initial success of Spartans and Tegeans.

Ch. 66–69. Flight of Artabazus; Athenian success against the Boeotians; disaster to part of the Greek army.

Ch. 70–75. Assault and capture of the Persian fortified camp. Distinctions of various Greek fighters.

Ch. 76–79. Pausanias' reception of the Coan female suppliant; the Mantineans and Eleans after the battle; Lampon's proposal to Pausanias and his reply.

Ch. 80–85. Greek division of the spoil and burial of the dead.

Ch. 86–89. Siege of Thebes and punishment of Theban leaders; retreat of Artabazus.

Ch. 90–95. Envoys from Samos with the Greek fleet. Story of the diviner Euenius.

Ch. 96–105. Movements preliminary to the battle of Mycale, and Greek victory there.

Ch. 106, 107. Greek deliberation at Samos; quarrel between Persian leaders.

Ch. 108–113. Story of Xerxes' adultery and cruelty, and the fate of his brother Masistes.

Ch. 114–121. Capture of Sestus by the Greeks; sacrilege of Artaÿctes, and his execution.

Ch. 122. Cyrus' advice to the Persians to prefer hardship to comfort.

In the eighth and ninth books the central subjects are the battles of Salamis and Plataea respectively. Herodotus describes the preliminaries of Salamis,

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and both the operations prior to Plataea and the actual battle, with much detail; and his narrative has given rise to a good deal of controversy. Sometimes it is difficult to reconcile his story with the facts of geography. Sometimes, it is alleged, he is contradicted by the only other real authority for the sea fight at Salamis, Aeschylus. More often, he is said to sin against the laws of probability. He makes generals and armies do things which are surprising; and this is alleged to detract from his credit; for a historian, who allows generals and armies to disregard known rules of war, is plainly suspect, and at best the dupe of camp gossip, if not animated by partiality or even malice.

As to the battle of Salamis, a mere translator has no desire to add greatly to the literature of controversy. But it is worth while to review Herodotus' account. On the day before the battle, the Persian fleet, apparently, lay along the coast of Attica, its eastern wing being near Munychia; the Greeks being at Salamis, opposite to and rather less than a mile distant from Xerxes' ships. During the night, Persian ships were detached to close the two entrances of the straits between the mainland and Salamis. At dawn of the following day, the Greeks rowed out and made a frontal attack on the Persians facing them.

This account is questioned by the learned, mainly on two grounds; firstly, because (it is alleged) the Persians, if they originally lay along the Attic coast, could not have closed the two entrances of the straits without the knowledge of the Greeks; secondly, because Herodotus' narrative differs from that given by Aeschylus, in the *Persae*, a play

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produced only eight years after the battle. As to the first objection, the Persian manoeuvre was executed in darkness, and by small vessels, not modern battleships: it is surely not incredible that the Greeks should have been unaware of its full execution. As to the second ground of criticism,—that Herodotus and Aeschylus do not agree, and that Aeschylus must be held the better authority,—it still remains to be shown in what the alleged discrepancy consists. It is a fact which appears to escape the observation of the learned that Aeschylus is writing a poetic drama, and not a despatch. His manner of telling the story certainly differs from that of Herodotus; but the facts which he relates appear to be the same: and in all humility I cannot but suggest that if commentators would re-read their Herodotus and their Aeschylus in parallel columns, without (if this be not too much to ask) an *a priori* desire to catch Herodotus tripping, some of them, at least, would eventually be able to reconcile the historian with the tragedian. For Aeschylus nowhere contradicts what is apparently the view of Herodotus,—that the Persians, or their main body, lay along the Attic coast opposite Salamis when the Greeks sailed out to attack them. Messrs. How and Wells (*quos honoris causa nomino*) say that this was probably not so, because, according to Aeschylus, “some time” elapsed before the Persians could see the Greek advance, and the strait is only one thousand five hundred yards wide. But as a matter of fact, Aeschylus does not say that some time elapsed. His expression is *θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἤσαν ἐκφανέσις οἴδεν*—“quickly they were all plain to view.”

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Herodotus' narrative of the manœuvres of Mardonius' and Pausanias' armies near Plataea is, like most descriptions of battles, not always very clear. It is full of detail; but as some of the localities mentioned cannot be quite certainly identified, the details are not always easy to understand; and it must be confessed that there are gaps in the story. For instance, we must presume (though meritorious efforts are made to explain the statement away) that Herodotus means what he says when he asserts in Ch. 15 that Mardonius' army occupied the ground "from Erythrae past Hysiae"; the Persians, therefore, were then on the right bank of the Asopus; yet soon afterwards they are, according to the historian's equally plain statement, on the left bank. Hence there are real obscurities; and the narrative is not without picturesque and perhaps rather surprising incidents; which some commentators (being rather like M. About's gendarme, persons whose business it is to see that nothing unusual happens in the locality) promptly dismiss as "camp gossip." Altogether, what with obscurity and camp gossip, scholars have given themselves a fairly free hand to reconstruct the operations before Plataea as they must have happened—unless indeed "someone had blundered," an hypothesis which, apparently, ought only to be accepted in the very last resort, and hardly then if its acceptance implies Herodotus' veracity. Reconstruction of history is an amusing game, and has its uses, especially in places of education, where it is played with distinguished success; yet one may still doubt whether rejection of what after all is our only real authority brings the public any nearer to

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knowing what did actually happen. Strategists and tacticians do make mistakes; thus, generally, are battles lost and won; and unreasonable incidents do occur. However, it is fair to say that most of the reconstruction of Salamis and Plataea was done before August, 1914.

But here, as elsewhere in his history, Herodotus' authority is much impaired by the presumption, popular since Plutarch, of a pro-Athenian bias which leads him to falsify history by exaggerating the merit of Athens at the expense of other states, especially Sparta. Now we may readily believe that if Herodotus lived for some time at Athens, he was willing enough to do ample justice to her achievements; but if he is to be charged with undue and unjust partiality, and consequent falsification, then it must be shown that the conduct which he attributes to Athens and to Sparta is somehow not consistent with what one would naturally expect, from the circumstances of the case, and from what we know, *aliunde*, about those two states. Scholars who criticise Herodotus on grounds of probability ought to be guided by their own canon. If a historian is to be discredited where his narrative does not accord with what is antecedently probable, then he must be allowed to gain credit where antecedent probability is on his side; and there is nothing in Herodotus' account of Athenian and Spartan actions during the campaigns of 480 and 479 which disagrees with the known character of either people. *Pace* the socialistic conception of an unrelieved similarity among all states and individuals, the Athenians of the fifth century, B.C., were an exceptional people; their record is not precisely the

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record of Boeotia or Arcadia; it seems fair to say, without appealing to Herodotus' testimony, that they were more gifted, and more enterprising, than most. The spirit of the Hellenic world is general,—intense local patriotism, intense fear and hatred of Oriental absolutism and strange worships, —was more alive among the Athenians, probably, than in any other Greek state. Sparta also had her share of these qualities; she too would make no terms with the Persian; only her methods of resistance were different. Primarily, each state was interested in its own safety. To Spartans — disinclined to methods other than traditional, and as yet unaccustomed to naval warfare — it seemed that Sparta could be best defended by blocking the land access to the Peloponnese; they would defend the Isthmus successfully, as they had tried and failed to defend Thermopylae. This meant, of course, the sacrifice of Attica; and naturally that was a sacrifice not to be made willingly by Athenians. Their only chance of saving or recovering Attica lay in fighting a naval action close to its coasts; nay, the abandonment of Salamis meant the exposure of their dependents to fresh dangers; therefore, they pressed for the policy of meeting and defeating the Persian where he lay by the Attic coast. This policy was to prove successful; and thereby, the Athenians incidentally accomplished what was undoubtedly also their object, the salvation of Hellas; but the primary purpose of both Sparta and Athens, both before Salamis and before Plataea (when the Athenians were naturally displeased by a plan which left Attica a prey to the enemy) was undoubtedly to do the best they could for themselves.

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This, in fact, was always the desire of all Greek states, as of most others in the history of the world; and as the actions of both Athens and Sparta were the natural outcome of that desire, there is no need to suspect Herodotus of unduly favouring the Athenians when he credits them with the plans which led to victory, or of unduly disparaging the Spartans when he describes their delays and hesitations before their march to Boeotia.

If the charge of an excessively pro-Athenian bias is to be sustained, it must be shown that Herodotus is prone to deny credit to the great rival of Athens. But there is no evidence of that. Sparta receives full measure from Herodotus. No Spartan could conceivably have been dissatisfied with the chapters on Thermopylae. Plataea is represented as a Spartan victory; it was the Spartans and Tegeans who in Herodotus' story were the real heroes of the day; the glory of winning "the greatest victory ever won" is definitely given to the Spartan commander-in-chief. On the other hand Themistocles, the typical Athenian, is treated with a severity which even appears to be rather gratuitous. It is true that Herodotus does not take pains to praise two other Greek states which at various times were at feud with Athens. He tells us that the Thebans "medized," a fact which has not, I believe, been denied, even by Plutarch; it is difficult to see what else he could have said. True, he reports a damaging story about the Corinthians and their failure to take part in the action of Salamis; but he adds, in his candid way, that nobody believes the story outside Attica.

The hypothesis of Herodotus' "obvious pro-

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"Athenian bias" is one which is bound to appeal to readers who are laudably afraid of being led away by hero-worship; but it has one fault--it lacks evidence.

With the crowning victory of Mycale, where for the first time a Persian army was defeated by a Greek within the boundaries of the Persian empire, the history of the war comes to an end. But the chapters which conclude Book IX are no anti-climax; they are congruous with the whole, part and parcel of the narrative, and as striking an example of Herodotus' supreme art as any passage in his history. What was it after all (a reader might be supposed to ask) that nerved most of the Greeks to resist Darius' and Xerxes' powerful armaments? The answer is plain; it was fear of the caprice and cruelty of Oriental despots, and desire to protect Greek temples from sacrilege. These concluding chapters illustrate and justify the Greek temper. The methods of Persian absolutism are vividly portrayed in the gruesome story of Xerxes' love and Masis' death; and the crucified body of Artayctes, the defiler of temples, hangs by the Hellespontian shore, overlooking the scene of Xerxes' proudest achievement and display, as a warning to all sacrilegious invaders; so perish all who lay impious hands on the religion of Hellas! . . . The story is now complete. The play is played; and in the last chapter of the book, Cyrus the great protagonist of the drama is called before the curtain to speak its epilogue.

[Besides the authorities enumerated at the beginning of Vol. I of this translation, the following

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sources are recommended to the students of the campaigns of Salamis and Plataea :—

G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War.*

J. A. R. Munro, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxii. 323–32 and xxiv. 144–65.

Prof. Goodwin, *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology*, 1906, pp. 75 ff.]

HERODOTUS
BOOK VIII

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Θ

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλλήνων ἐστὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἥσαν οἵδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης Πλαταιέες ἅπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἔντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι, καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτά, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δέ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά.

2. Ἡσαν μὲν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἵν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεω·

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BOOK VIII

1. THE Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Platæans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but of mere valour and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships, and the Megarians twenty; and the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships: the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Ceans two, and two fifty-oared barks; and the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid.

2. These were they who came to Artemisium for battle; and I have now shown how they severally furnished the whole sum. The number of ships that mustered at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy one, besides the fifty-oared barks. But the admiral who had the chief command was of the Spartans' providing, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides;

HERODOTUS

οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἥγεμονεύη, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἥγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

3. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἄρχας λόγος, πρὶν ἡ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ώς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἴη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰκονοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἥγεμονίης, ώς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλás, ὅρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι διν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἰκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ώς διέδεξαν· ώς γὰρ δὴ ὡσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἥδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἥγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ώς εἰδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἄπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἡ ώς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοίες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εύρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἀν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ώς δ' οὐκ ἐπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα

¹ After the capture of Byzantium in 476 B.C.

for the allies said, that if the Laconian were not their leader they would rather make an end of the fleet that was preparing than be led by the Athenians.

3. For in the first days, before the sending to Sicily for alliance there, there had been talk of entrusting the command at sea to the Athenians. But when the allies withheld this, the Athenians waived their claim, deeming the safety of Hellas of prime moment, and seeing that if they quarrelled over the leadership Hellas must perish; wherein they judged rightly; for civil strife is as much worse than united war as war is worse than peace. Knowing that, they gave ground and waived their claim, but only so long as they had great need of the others, as was shown; for when they had driven the Persian back and the battle was no longer for their territory but for his, they made a pretext of Pausanias' highhandedness and took the command away from the Lacedaemonians. But all that befel later.¹

4. But now, the Greeks who had at last come to Artemisium saw a multitude of ships launched at Aphetae, and armaments everywhere, and contrary to all expectation the foreigner was shown to be in far other case than they had supposed; wherefore they lost heart and began to take counsel for flight from Artemisium homewards into Hellas. Then the Euboeans, seeing them to be thus planning, entreated Eurybiades to wait a little while, till they themselves should have brought away their children and households. But when they could not prevail with him, they essayed another way, and gave Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, a bribe of

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ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ὁ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

5. 'Ο δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης τοὺς "Ελληνας ἐπισχεῦν ὁδε ποιέει. Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῦ πέντε τάλαντα ώς πάρ' ἔωντοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ώς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, 'Αδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ωκύτου οἱ Κορίνθιοι στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἥσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Αρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας "Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἄν τοι οἱ Μήδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν 'Αδειμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκέρδην, ἐλάτθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἡπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν 'Αθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὃδε. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς 'Αφέτας περὶ δείλην πρωίην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότεροι περὶ τὸ Αρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας 'Ελληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδύντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἶνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ "Ελληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμήσειαν φεύγοιτάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνῃ· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ

BOOK VIII. 4-6

thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

5. This was the way whereby Themistocles made the Greeks to stay where they were: he gave Eurybiades for his share five talents of that money, as though it were of his own that he gave it. Eurybiades being thus won over, none of the rest was of a resisting temper save only Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemisium; to him said Themistocles, adding an oath thereto: "Nay, you of all men will not desert us; for I will give you a greater gift than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting your allies"; and with that saying he sent withal three talents of silver to Adimantus' ship. So these two were won over by gifts, the Euboeans got their desire, and Themistocles himself was the gainer; he kept the rest of the money, none knowing, but they that had received a part of it supposing that it had been sent for that intent by the Athenians.

6. So the Greeks abode off Euboea and there fought; and it came about as I shall show. Having arrived at Aphetae in the early part of the afternoon, the foreigners saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemisium, and they were eager to attack, that so they might take them. Now they were not yet minded to make an onfall front to front, for fear lest the Greeks should see them coming and take to flight, and night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and by the

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πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ τάδε ἐμηχανῶντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὁφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὔβοιαν κατά τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὄπίσω φέρουσαν ὄδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίης. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι "Ελλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανῆσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτησι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ως τότε. ὅτεῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἔστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ως ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους ἐς ὁγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης

BOOK VIII. 6-8

Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer¹ of them must be saved alive.

7. Wherefore this was the plan that they devised. Separating two hundred ships from the whole number, they sent them to cruise outside Sciathus (that so the enemies might not see them sailing round Euboea) and by way of Caphereus round Geraestus to the Euripus, so that they might catch the Greeks between them, the one part holding that course and barring the retreat, and they themselves attacking in front. Thus planning, they sent the appointed ships on their way, purposing for themselves to make no attack upon the Greeks that day, nor before the signal should be seen whereby the ships that sailed round were to declare their coming. So they sent those ships to sail round, and set about numbering the rest at Aphetae.

8. Now at the time of their numbering the ships, there was in the fleet one Scyllias, a man of Scione; he was the best diver of the time, and in the shipwreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and won much withal for himself; this Scyllias had ere now, it would seem, purposed to desert to the Greeks, but he never had had so fair an occasion as now. By what means he did thereafter at last make his way to the Greeks, I cannot with exactness say; but if the story be true it is marvellous indeed; for it is said that he dived into the sea at Aphetae and never rose above it till he came to Artemisium, thus passing underneath the sea for about eighty furlongs.

¹ The *πυρπάπος* carried the sacred fire which was always kept alight for the sacrifices of the army; his person was supposed to be inviolable.

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διεξελθών. λέγεται μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γιώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμην τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.

9. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ "Ελλῆνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δείλην ὄφιην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπαγέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10. Ορῶντες δὲ σφέας οἵ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νησὶ δλίγησι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἱρίσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μέν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄρῶντες δλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἔωντῶν πλήθεϊ τε πολλαπλισίας καὶ ἀμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρογίσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μέν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὔνοοι τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ὄρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσειν οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρίγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἥδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἅμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὄκως

BOOK VIII. 8-10

There are many tales of this man, some like lies and some true; but as concerning the present business it is my opinion, which I hereby declare, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. Having then come, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.

9. Hearing that, the Greeks took counsel together; there was much speaking, but the opinion prevailed that they should abide and encamp where they were for that day, and thereafter when it should be past midnight put to sea and meet the ships that were sailing round. But presently, none attacking them, they waited for the late afternoon of the day and themselves advanced their ships against the foreigner, desiring to put to the proof his fashion of fighting and the art of breaking the line.¹

10. When Xerxes' men and their generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they deemed them assuredly mad, and themselves put out to sea, thinking to win an easy victory; which expectation was very reasonable, as they saw the Greek ships so few, and their own many times more numerous and more seaworthy. With this assurance, they hemmed in the Greeks in their midst. Now as many Ionians as were friendly to the Greeks came unwillingly to the war, and were sore distressed to see the Greeks surrounded, supposing that not one of them would return home; so powerless did the Greeks seem to them to be. But those who were glad of the business vied each with each that he might be the first to take an

¹ For the διέκπλος see Bk. VI. ch. 12.

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αὐτὸς ἔκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἵν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἐλλησι ως ἐσίμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀγτίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημίναντος ἔργου εἴχοντο ἐν δλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργον τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέυσ ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἐλλήνων νέα τῷ πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομίδης Αἰσχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δέ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτη ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἐλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέϊ Ἐλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

12. Ως δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἥν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἅπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηδίου οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν είλεοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἥκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἦ καὶ ἀναπτυεῦσαι σφέας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ

Attic ship and receive gifts from the king; for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

11. But the Greeks, when the signal was given them, first drew the sterns of their ships together, their prows turned towards the foreigners; then at the second signal they put their hands to the work, albeit they were hemmed in within a narrow space and fought front to front. There they took thirty of the foreigners' ships and the brother of Gorgus king of Salamis withal, even Philaon son of Chersis, a man of note in the fleet. The first Greek to take an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes, son of Aeschraeus, and he it was who received the prize for valour. They fought that seafight with doubtful issue, and nightfall ended the battle; the Greeks sailed back to Artemisium, and the foreigners to Aphetae, after faring far below their hopes in the fight. In that battle Antidorus of Lemnos deserted to the Greeks, alone of all the Greeks that were with the king; and for that the Athenians gave him lands in Salamis.

12. When darkness came on, the season being then midsummer, there was abundance of rain all through the night and violent thunderings from Pelion; and the dead and the wrecks were driven towards Aphetae, where they were entangled with the ships' prows and fouled the blades of the oars. The ships' companies that were there were dismayed by the noise of this, and looked in their present evil case for utter destruction; for before they were

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χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε
ναυμαχίη καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὅμβρος
τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἴσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν
όρμημένα βροῦται τε σκληραῖ.

13. Καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἡ νὺξ ἐγίνετο,
τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὔβοιαν ἡ
αὐτῇ περ ἔοντα νὺξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη,
τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε,
καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ
πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμών τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο
ἔοντι κατὰ τὰ Κοῦλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ
πινεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον
πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἐποιέετο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
ὅκως ἀν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν
μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.

14. Οὗτοι μέν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῦλα τῆς Εὐβοίης
διεφθείροντο οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτησι βάρβαροι, ὡς
σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε
εἶχον τὰς νέας καὶ σφι ἀπεχράτο κακῶς πρήσ-
σουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ
Ἑλλησι ἐπεβοήθεον γέεις τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα
Ἀττικαί. αὗταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπι-
κόμεναι καὶ ἀμα ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρ-
βάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὔβοιαν πάντες εἴησαν
διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλά-
ξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον
νησὶ Κιλίσσησι ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς
εὑφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὅπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ
Ἀρτεμίσιον.

15. Τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρη δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ
στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας
λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες,

recovered after the shipwreck and the storm off Pelion, they next must abide a stubborn sea-fight, and after the sea-fight rushing rain and mighty torrents pouring seaward and violent thunderings.

13. Thus did the night deal with them; but to those that were appointed to sail round Euboea that same night was much crueller yet, inasmuch as it caught them on the open sea; and an evil end they had. For the storm and the rain coming on them in their course off the Hollows of Euboea, they were driven by the wind they knew not whither, and were cast upon the rocks. All this was the work of heaven's providence, that so the Persian power might be more equally matched with the Greek, and not much greater than it.

14. So these perished at the Hollows of Euboea. But the foreigners at Aphetae, when to their great comfort the day dawned, kept their ships unmoved, being in their evil plight well content to do nothing for the nonce; and fifty-three Attic ships came to aid the Greeks, who were heartened by the ships' coming and the news brought withal that the foreigners sailing round Euboea had all perished in the late storm. They waited then for the same hour as before, and putting to sea fell upon certain Cilician ships; which having destroyed, when darkness came on, they returned back to Artemisium.

15. But on the third day, the foreign admirals, ill brooking that so few ships should do them hurt, and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the

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οὐκ ἀνέμειγαν ἔτι τὸν "Ελληνας μάχης ἄρξαι,
ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσου ήμέρης
ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τὰς αὐτὰς
ήμέρας τάς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ
τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ
πᾶς ὁ ἀγῶν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ
Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν
φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ
παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βαρβάρους, οἱ
δ' ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες
τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ
Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ "Ελληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον
πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς
ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ώς περιλάβοιεν
αὐτούς.

16. Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ "Ελληνες ἐπανέπλεόν τε καὶ
συνέψισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι
ἀλλιήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ^{τοῦ}
μεγάθεός τε καὶ πλιόθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ
ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περι-
πιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλιήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε
καὶ οὐκ εἰκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ^{τοῦ}
νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν
δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ
ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρ-
βάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν
χωρὶς ἔκάτεροι.

17. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν
Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἡρίστευσαν, οἱ ἄλλα τε
μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἄνδράσι
εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ
ταύτην τὴν ήμέρην ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ

Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. And it so fell out that these sea-battles were fought through the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; the seamen's whole endeavour was to hold the Euripus, as Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greek battle word was to give the foreigner no entry into Hellas, and the Persian to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and came on, the Greeks abode in their place off Artemisium; and the foreigners made a half circle of their ships, and strove to encircle and enclose them round.

16. At that the Greeks charged and joined battle. In that sea-fight both had equal success. For Xerxes' fleet wrought itself harm by its numbers and multitude: the ships were thrown into confusion and ran foul of each other; nevertheless they held fast, nor yielded, for they could not bear to be put to flight by a few ships. Many were the Greek ships and men that there perished, and far more yet of the foreigners' ships and men; thus they battled, till they drew off and parted each from other.

17. In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians bore themselves best; besides other great feats of arms that they achieved, they took five Greek ships and their crews withal. Of the Greeks on that day the Athenians bore themselves best;

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Αθηναίων Κλεινής ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω, ὃς δαπάνην
οἰκηίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε
διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηίῃ νηī.

18. Ως δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐς
ὅρμον ἡπείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες
ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν οὐκέτι
καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιε-
φθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι
τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον
ἔστω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

19. Νόω δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς εἰ
ἀπορραγείη ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἰωνικὸν
φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἷοί τε εἴησαν ἀν τῶν
λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν
Ἐύβοιέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην,
συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκέοι
ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος
συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα
μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμιουν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι
κατίκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι
ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθύειν
ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν
ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραίνεε τε προειπεῖν
τοῖσι ἑωυτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς
δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελίσσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας
ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἥρεσέ σφι
ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο
πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

20. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν
Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι
ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάξαντο ὡς παρε-

and of the Athenians Clinias son of Alcibiades; he brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his private charges.

18. So they parted and each right gladly made haste to his own anchorage. When the Greeks had drawn off and come out of the battle, they were left masters of the dead and the wrecks; but they had had rough handling, and chiefly the Athenians, half of whose ships had suffered hurt; and now their counsel was to flee to the inner waters of Hellas.¹

19. Themistocles bethought him that if the Ionian and Carian nations were rent away from the foreigners, the Greeks might be strong enough to get the upper hand of the rest. Now it was the wont of the Euboeans to drive their flocks down to the sea there. Wherefore gathering the admirals together he told them that he thought he had a device whereby he hoped to draw away the best of the king's allies. So much he revealed for the nonce; but in the present turn of affairs this (he said) they must do: let everyone slay as many as he would from the Euboean flocks; it was better that the fleet should have them, than the enemy. Moreover he counselled them each to bid his men to light a fire; as for the time of their going thence, he would take such thought for that as should bring them seathless to Hellas. All this they agreed to do; and forthwith they lit fires and then laid hands on the flocks.

20. For the Euboeans had neglected the oracle of Bacis, deeming it void of meaning, and neither by carrying away nor by bringing in anything had

¹ This means, I suppose, to the seas nearer their homes.

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σομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ὥδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

φράζεο, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ξυγὸν εἰς ἄλα
βάλλῃ
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας
αἴγας.

τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι
tóte παρεοῦσί τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι
παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσον, παρῆν δὲ ὁ
ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτε-
μισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀιτικυρεύς,
τῷ προστετέακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἔτοι-
μον, εἰ παλίσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν
τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι ὡς δ' αὔτως ἦν
Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ
Λεωνίδῃ ἔτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι
ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνη γεώ-
τερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὧν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπι-
κόμειός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο
ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀπο-
χώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν,
Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας
ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ
πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμινων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμ-
ματα, τὰ "Ιωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ
ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα
τάδε ἔλεγε. “Ἄγδρες Ιωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια

they shown that they feared an enemy's coming; whereby they were the cause of their own destruction; for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs thus:

"Whenso a strange-tongued man on the waves
casts yoke of papyrus,
Then let bleating goats from coasts Euboean be
banished."

To these verses the Euboeans gave no heed; but in the evils then present and soon to come they could not but heed their dire calamity.

21. While the Greeks were doing as I have said, there came to them the watcher from Trachis. For there was a watcher at Artemisium, one Polyas, a native of Anticyra, who was charged (and had a rowing boat standing ready therefor), if the fleet should be at grips, to declare it to the men at Thermopylae; and in like manner, if any ill should befall the land army, Abronichus son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready for his part to bring the news in a thirty-oared bark to the Greeks at Artemisium. So this Abronichus came and declared to them the fate of Leonidas and his army; which when the Greeks learnt, they no longer delayed their departure, but went their ways in their appointed order, the Corinthians first, and last of all the Athenians.

22. But Themistocles picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and went about to the places of drinking water, where he engraved on the rocks writing which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: "Men of Ionia, you do wrongly

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ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῶν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεάν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ’ ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.” Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα νοέων, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα “Ιωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπείτε ἀνενειχθῆ καὶ διαβληθῆ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς “Ιωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχῃ.

23. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοιώ ἥλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαιεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ’ Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀπιστίης τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἄμα ἥλιω σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλλὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαιέων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χώρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἔόντων, Ξέρξης ἔτοι-

to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. It were best of all that you should join yourselves to us; but if that be impossible for you, then do you even now withdraw yourselves from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be, and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we pray you not to use your full strength in the day of battle; be mindful that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the foreigner was of your making in the beginning." To my thinking Themistocles thus wrote with a double intent, that if the king knew nought of the writing it might make the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, and that if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians, and keep them out of the sea-fights.

23. Such was Themistocles' writing. Immediately after this there came to the foreigners a man of Histiaeum in a boat, telling them of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. Not believing this, they kept the bringer of the news in ward, and sent swift ships to spy out the matter; and when the crews of these brought word of the truth, on learning that, the whole armada at the first spreading of sunlight sailed all together to Artemisium, where having waited till midday, they next sailed to Histiaeum, and on their coming took possession of the Histiaeans' city, and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopian¹ region, which is the land of Histiaeum.

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

¹ The northern half of Euboea, including the district of Histiaeum.

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μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπειμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὄρυξάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κῆρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵ τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι.”

25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοίων σπανιότερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἥθελον θεήσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεῦντο διεξιόγτες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἡπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιέας, ὄρωντες καὶ τοὺς εἴλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἀλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τῶντὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἥμέρην πρὸς θέην ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίη οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὄρμέατο.

26. Ἡκον δέ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης ὄλιγοι τινές, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέος ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν

to the fleet, having first bestowed the fallen men as I shall show. Of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in digged trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth, that the men of the fleet might not see them. So when the herald had crossed over to Histiae, he assembled all the men of the fleet and thus spoke: "Men of our allies, King Xerxes suffers any one of you that will to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought to overcome the king's power."

25. After this proclamation, there was nought so hard to get as a boat, so many were they who would see the sight. They crossed over and went about viewing the dead; and all of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, though there were the helots also for them to see. Yet for all that they that crossed over were not deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead; for indeed the thing was laughable; of the Persians a thousand lay dead before their eyes, but the Greeks lay all together assembled in one place, to the number of four thousand. All that day they spent in seeing the sight; on the next the shipmen returned to their fleet at Histiae, and Xerxes' army set forth on its march.

26. There had come to them some few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what

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Ἐλλήνων τί ποιέοιεν εἰς δέ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἱ δέ σφι ἐλεγον ὡς Ὁλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωρέοιεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν. ὃ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται οἱ δέ εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἴπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὥφλε πρὸς βασιλέος πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἐὸν στέφανον ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὕτε ἡνέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. “Παπᾶ Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἔγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἱ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.” τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἴρητο.

27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἄτε σφι ἔχοντες αἱεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ καρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατῆ ἀυτοὶ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Ηαριησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιούτῳ. γυψώσας ἄνδρας ἔξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἀν μὴ

¹ On the hypothesis, usually received till lately, that the games took place at the first full moon after the summer

the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. The Arcadians telling them that the Greeks were keeping the Olympic¹ festival and viewing sports and horse-races, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, wherefor they contended; and they told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown,^{Crown, Lord} he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Zounds, Mardonius, what manner of men are these that you have brought us to fight withal? 'tis not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying.

27. In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, inasmuch as they bore an old grudge against them, and more than ever by reason of their latest disaster. For a few years before the king's expedition the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole army, but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. For the Phocians being beleaguered on Parnassus and having with them the diviner Tellias of Elis, Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armour, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them

solstice, we should have to adopt some theory such as Stein's, that the conversation here recorded took place in late June, while Xerxes was at Therma; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.

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λευκανθίζοντα ἵδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους
ῶν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἴδοῦσαι
έφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ
μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὕτω ὥστε
τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι γιγρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων
Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς "Αβας ἀνέθεσαν
τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν
χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι
ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνιεστεώτες
ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἔτεροι
τοιοῦτοι ἐν "Αβῃσι ἀνακέαται.

28. Ταῦτα μέν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν
Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἑωτούς.
ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώρην τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν
ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἦ
ἐστὶ κατὰ Τάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην
ὅρυξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν,
χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὅμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ
χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας.
οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι
ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι
τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

29. Τούτων δή σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον
οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κίρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε.
“Ω Φωκέες, ἦδη τι μᾶλλον γνωστιμαχέετε μὴ
εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι,
ὅσον χρόνοι ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἥιδανε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτε
ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ το-
σοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς ἐστε-
ρῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἥιδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς
μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μιησικακέομεν, ἀλλ’
ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ’ αὐτῶν πειντίκοντα τάλαντα

slay whomsoever they should see not whitened. The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something beyond nature, and next after the sentinels the whole army fled likewise; insomuch that the Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, whereof they dedicated half at Abae and the rest at Delphi; a tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand round the tripod before the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abae.

28. Thus had the beleaguered Phocians dealt with the Thessalian foot; and when the Thessalian horsemen rode into their country the Phocians did them mortal harm; they dug a great pit in the pass near Hyampolis and put empty jars therein, covering which with earth, till all was like the rest of the ground, they awaited the onset of the Thessalians. These rode on thinking to sweep the Phocians before them, and fell in among the jars; whereby their horses' legs were broken.

29. These two deeds had never been forgiven by the Thessalians; and now they sent a herald with this message: "Men of Phocis, it is time now that you confess yourselves to be no match for us. We were ever formerly preferred before you by the Greeks, as long as we were on their side; and now we are of such weight with the foreigner that it lies in our power to have you deprived of your lands, ay, and yourselves enslaved withal. Nevertheless, though all rests with us, we bear you no ill-will for the past; pay us fifty talents of silver for what you

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ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν.”

30. Ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῷ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὑρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὗξον, ώς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμῆδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὅμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἥγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεὼν στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ώς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κῃ εὑρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρης, ἢ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρη αὗτη ἐστὶ μιτρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὡν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἔδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

32. Ως δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτὸν μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἴρεονσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παριησσοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ’ ἔωστῆς. Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαστο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀξόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς

did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land."

30. This was the Thessalians' offer. The Phocians, and they alone of all that region, would not take the Persians' part, and that for no other reason (if I argue aright) than their hatred of the Thessalians; had the Thessalians aided the Greek side, then methinks the Phocians would have stood for the Persians. They replied to the offer of the Thessalians that they would give no money; that they could do like the Thessalians and take the Persian part, if for any cause they so wished, but they would not willingly betray the cause of Hellas.

31. This answer being returned to them, thereat the Thessalians in their wrath against the Phocians began to guide the foreigner on his way. From the lands of Trachis they broke into Doris; for there is a narrow tongue of Dorian land stretching that way, about thirty furlongs wide, between the Malian territory and the Phocian, which in old time was Dryopian; this region is the motherland of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. To this Dorian territory the foreigners did no harm at their invasion; for the people took the Persian part, and the Thessalians would not have them harmed.

32. When they entered Phocis from Doris, the Phocians themselves they could not catch; for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people; thither they carried up their goods and themselves ascended to it, but the most of them made their way out of the country to

HERODOTUS

"Αμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γάρ οὕτω ἥγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκύσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἕρα.

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδιήσουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἑρωχον καὶ Τεθρώιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Ηεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἀβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἵρον Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσι τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καί τινας διώκουντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναικας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

34. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἐσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἐσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μῆδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.

35. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἥγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὄρμέατο

the Ozolian Locrians, where is the town of Amphissa above the Crisaean plain. The foreigners overran the whole of Phocis, the Thessalians so guiding their army; and all that came within their power they burnt and wasted, setting fire to towns and temples.

33. Marching this way down the river Cephisus they ravaged all before them, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphiæa, Neon, Pediea, Tritea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abæ, where was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with wealth of treasure and offerings; and there was then as now a place of divination there. This temple, too, they plundered and burnt; and they pursued and caught some of the Phocians near the mountains, and did certain women to death by the multitude of their violators.

34. Passing Parapotamii the foreigners came to Panopea; and there their army parted asunder into two companies. The greater and stronger part of the host marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and broke into the territory of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole people of Boeotia took the Persian part, and men of Macedonia sent by Alexander safeguarded their towns, each in his appointed place; the reason of the safeguarding being, that Xerxes might understand the Boeotians to be on the Persian side.

35. So this part of the foreign army marched as aforesaid, and others set forth with guides for the

HERODOTUS

ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανόπεων τὴν πόλιν ἐγέρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Λιολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἴνεκα, ὅκως συλιγσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλέι Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἱεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανομενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἵρων χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεός σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἵκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατήσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μέν νυν καὶ γυναικας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιήν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἵ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὅν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὥρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνειγμένα ἵρα, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἀπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.

temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste whatsoever part of Phocis they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was, that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes; who (as I have been told) knew of all the most notable possessions in the temple better than of what he had left in his own palace, and chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had ever spoken of them.

36. When the Delphians learnt all this they were sore afraid; and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or convey it away to another country. But the god bade them move nothing, saying that he was able to protect his own. On that hearing, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women oversea to Achaia; of the men, the most went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave,¹ and some escaped to Amphissa in Locris; in brief, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet.

37. Now when the foreigners drew nigh in their coming and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, that no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. So

¹ In the heights above Delphi and some three hours distant from it, adjaeent to Parnassus. The cave is "some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high" (How and Wells).

HERODOTUS

ὅ μὲν δὴ ἦιε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἵρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρήια αὐτόματα φαινῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἥσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἵρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἵρου τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.

38. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἵθυ Βοιωτῶν ἐφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ώς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ώς πρὸς τούτοισι καὶ ἄλλα ὤρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζονας ἦ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἐπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

39. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὔτονοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἵρον, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἵρου τῆς Προναίης, Αὔτονόον δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῆς Ταμπείης κορυφῆ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἥσαν σόοι,

he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle; but when the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph.

38. All this joining together struck panic into the foreigners; and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and slew a great number. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. Those of the foreigners who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other signs of heaven's working besides the aforesaid: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human (they said) had followed hard after them, slaying and pursuing.

39. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonous' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak. The rocks that fell¹ from Parnassus were yet to be

¹ "Among the olives in the glen below" the remains of the temple of Athene Pronaea "are some large masses of reddish-grey rock, which might be those said to have come hurtling from the cliffs above" (How and Wells).

HERODOTUS

ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι,
ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι.
τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥρου
ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

40. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμῖνα
κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἴνεκα προσεδείθησαν
αὐτῶν σχεῦν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ
παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωται ἐκ τῆς
Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον
αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατίκουσι πρήγ-
μασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι
γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὑρίσειν Πελοποννησίους
παγδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρ-
βαρον, τῶν μὲν εὑρον οὐδὲν ἔόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο
τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελο-
πόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι
καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπι-
έναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὗτοι δὴ προσεδείθησαν
σφέων σχεῦν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα,
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν
κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται
σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ
μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροίζην ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς
Λιγυναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα
ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρε-
τέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἴνεκα οὐκ ἥκιστα. λέγουσι
Ἀθηναῖοι ὅφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος
ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἥρῳ. λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ
δὴ ὡς ἔόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες.
τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἔστι. αὕτη δὴ ἡ

seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athene Pronaea, whither their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple.

40. The Greek fleet, after it had left Artemisium came by the Athenians' entreaty to land at Salamis ; the reason why the Athenians entreated them to put in there being, that they themselves might convey their children and women safe out of Attica, and moreover take counsel as to what they should do. For inasmuch as the present turn of affairs had disappointed their judgment they were now to hold a council ; they had thought to find the whole Peloponnesian force awaiting the foreigners' attack in Boeotia, but now of that they found no whit, but learnt contrariwise that the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus, and letting all else go, as deeming the defence of the Peloponnese to be of greatest moment. Learning this, they therefore entreated the fleet to put in at Salamis.

41. So the rest made sail thither, and the Athenians to their own country. Being there arrived they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Thereat most of them sent their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. They made haste to convey all out of harm because they desired to be guided by the oracle, and for another reason, too, which was this : it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lives in their temple, to guard the acropolis ; in proof whereof they do ever duly set out a honey-cake as a monthly offering for it ; this

HERODOTUS

μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμου-
μένη τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα
τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυ-
μότερον ἔξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ώς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ
ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ώς δέ σφι πάντα
ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα
κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθα-
νόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ
Τροιζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα
προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ
πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον
καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν
ἐπῆν ὡντὸς ὃς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης
ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεω ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος
τοῦ βασιλήιου ἐών· νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε
καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

43. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἵδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοπον-
νήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι,
Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ
ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ. Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρεί-
χοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζηνίοι δὲ
πέντε, Ἐρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἐόντες οὖτοι πλὴν
Ἐρμιονέων Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ
Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα
ὅρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἐρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ
Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος
καλεομένης χώρης ἔξαναστάντες.

44. Οὖτοι μέν νυν Πελοπονησίων ἐστρατεύ-
οντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἥπερου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν
πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὅγδώ-
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μοῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ

cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were the readier to leave their city, deeming their goddess, too, to have deserted the acropolis. When they had conveyed all away, they returned to the fleet.

42. When the Greeks from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of their fleet also heard of it and gathered in from Troezen, the port of which, Pogon, had been named for their place of mustering; and the ships that mustered there were more by far than had fought at Artemisium, and came from more cities. Their admiral-in-chief was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Euryclydes, a Spartan, yet not of the royal blood; but it was the Athenians who furnished by far the most and the sea-worthiest ships.

43. The Peloponnesians that were with the fleet were, firstly, the Lacedaemonians, with sixteen ships, and the Corinthians with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Troezenians five, the people of Hermione three; all these, except the people of Hermione, were of Dorian and Macedonian stock, and had last come from Erineus and Pindus and the Dryopian region. The people of Hermione are Dryopians, driven by Heracles and the Malians from the country now called Doris.

44. These were the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Of those that came from the mainland outside the Peloponnese, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not

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συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοι-
όνδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ώς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα,
οἵ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς
Βοιωτίης χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν
οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μέν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλεί-
φθησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἔχόντων
τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί,
ὄνομαξόμενοι Κραναόι, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος
ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος
τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, "Ιωνος δὲ
τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι
ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου" Ιωνες.

45. Μεγαρέες δὲ τώντο πλήρωμα παρείχοντο
καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἐπτὰ νέας
ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος
ἔοντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. Νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγαίνηται τριήκοντα παρεί-
χοντο. ἦσαν μέν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι
νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἐωսτῶν ἐφύλασσον,
τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσησι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγαίνηται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριέες ἀπὸ
Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὔνομα ἦν
Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγαίνητας Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπ'
Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριέες τὰς
ἐπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ιωνες εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κήραι τὰς
αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐδὲ Ιωνικὸν ἀπὸ
Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀπο-
πεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-

BOOK VIII. 44-46

fight beside the Athenians at Salamis, whereof the reason was that when the Greeks sailed from Artemisium, and had arrived off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite Boeotian shore and set about conveying their households away. So they were left behind bringing these to safety. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cramai¹; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

45. The Megarians furnished the same complement as at Artemisium; the Ampræciots brought seven ships to the fleet, and the Leucadians (who are of Dorian stock from Corinth) brought three.

46. Of the islanders, the Aeginetans furnished thirty. They had other ships, too, manned; but they used them to guard their own coasts, and fought at Salamis with the thirty that were most seaworthy. The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus; their island was formerly called Oenone. After the Aeginetans came the Chalcidians with the twenty, and the Eretrians with the seven which had fought at Artemisium; they are Ionians; and next the Ceans, furnishing the same ships as before; they are of Ionian stock, from Athens. The Naxians furnished four ships; they had been sent by their townsmen to the Persians, like the rest of the

¹ That is, probably, "dwellers on the heights." All pre-Dorian inhabitants of Hellas are "Pelasgian" to Herodotus.

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τέων κατά περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἰωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τάς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθινοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἔοντες συναμφότεροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ Σίφινοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

47. Οὗτοι μὲν ἄπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμυρακιώτησι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἑκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νηί, τῆς ἥρχε ἀνὴρ τρὶς πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.

48. Οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφινοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἔοντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφινοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἰωνες ἔοντες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἐκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὅκτω.

49. Ως δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβοιλεύοντο, προθέντος Εύρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὃκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι ναυ-

BOOK VIII. 46-49

islanders; but they paid no heed to the command and joined themselves to the Greeks, being invited thereto by Democritus, a man of note in their town, who was then captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of Athenian lineage. The Styrians furnished the same number as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared bark; both these peoples are Dryopians. There were also in the fleet men of Seriphos and Siphnos and Melos, these being the only islanders who had not given the foreigner earth and water.

47. All these aforesaid came to the war from countries nearer than Thesprotia and the river Acheron; for Thesprotia marches with the Ampraciots and Leucadians, who came from the lands farthest distant. Of those that dwell farther off than these, the men of Croton alone came to aid Hellas in its peril, and they with one ship, whereof the captain was Phayilus, a victor in the Pythian games. These Crotoniats are of Achaean blood.

48. All these furnished triremes for the fleet save the Melians and Siphnians and Seriphians, who brought fifty-oared barks, the Melians (who are of Lacedaemonian stock) two, and the Siphnians and Seriphians (who are Ionians of Athenian lineage) one each. The whole number of the ships, besides the fifty-oared barks, was three hundred and seventy eight.

49. When the leaders from the cities aforesigned met at Salamis, they held a council; Eurybiades laid the matter before them, bidding whosoever would to declare what waters in his judgment were fittest for a sea-fight, among all places whereof the Greeks

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μαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ· οὐ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπεῖτο ἥδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γυνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ταυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ώς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ταυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἔόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν τῆσσα, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίη οὐδεμίᾳ ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἔξοισονται.

50. Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἡκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἄμα Ξέρξη, ἐμπρίσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἥκε τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηίουν. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιξον.

51. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἱ-λλυσπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἥρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἱρέουσι ἕρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἴρῳ ἔόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἴρου καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἥμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἄμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθεγείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἔξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἡ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον

were masters; of Attica they had no more hope; it was among other places that he bade them judge. Then the opinion of most of the speakers tended to the same conclusion, that they should sail to the Isthmus and do battle by sea for the safety of the Peloponnese, the reason which they alleged being this, that if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be beleaguered in an island, where no help could come to them; but off the Isthmus they could win to their own coasts.

50. While the Peloponnesian captains held this argument, there came a man of Athens, bringing news that the foreigner was arrived in Attica, and was wasting it all with fire. For the army which followed Xerxes through Boeotia had burnt the town of the Thespians (who had themselves left it and gone to the Peloponnese) and Plataea likewise, and was arrived at Athens, laying waste all the country round. They burnt Thespia and Plataea because they learnt from the Thebans that those towns had not taken the Persian part.

51. Now after the crossing of the Hellespont whence they began their march, the foreigners had spent one month in their passage into Europe, and in three more months they arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens. There they took the city, then left desolate; but they found in the temple some few Athenians, temple-stewards and needy men, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs; these had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by reason of poverty, and also because they supposed themselves to have found out the meaning of the Delphic oracle that the wooden wall should be

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ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντίγιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

52. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ιζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὅχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καλέουσι Ἀρίμον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς διστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖον οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ὑπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανώντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίησι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἐλεῖν.

53. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δή τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσησ!· ἔμπροσθε ὅν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὕτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἀν ἥλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἴρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρίμυνον ἔόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἐωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

¹ In vii. 142.

impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.¹

52. The Persians sat down on the hill over against the acropolis, which is called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and besieged them by shooting arrows wrapped in lighted tow at the barricade. There the Athenians defended themselves against their besiegers, albeit they were in extremity and their barricade had failed them; nor would they listen to the terms of surrender proposed to them by the Pisistratids, but defended themselves by counter-devices, chiefly by rolling great stones down on the foreigners when they assaulted the gates; insomuch that for a long while Xerxes could not take the place, and knew not what to do.

53. But at the last in their quandary the foreigners found an entrance; for the oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the mainland of Attica be made subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent thereto, there was a place where none was on guard and none would have thought that any man would ascend that way; here certain men mounted near the shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, though the way led up a sheer cliff.² When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves

² Hdt.'s description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is 'in front,' facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis. *μέγαρον* here = *ιπόν*.

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ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἵκέτας ἐφόνευον ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλίγαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54. Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἵππεα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἄγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἔωστῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρέπω τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὅν ὅψιν τινὰ ἴδων ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιον οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἶνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτη Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι ιηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρις μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὅν τὴν ἐλαίην ἄμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἵρῳ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

56. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἑλληνες, ὡς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκουντο ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι τοῖσι τε ὑπολειπο-

to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

54. Being now wholly master of Athens, Xerxes sent a horseman to Susa to announce his present success to Artabanus. On the next day after the messenger was sent he called together the Athenian exiles who followed in his train, and bade them go up to the acropolis and offer sacrifice after their manner, whether it was some vision seen of him in sleep that led him to give this charge, or that he repented of his burning of the temple. The Athenian exiles did as they were bidden.

55. I will now show wherefore I make mention of this: on that acropolis there is a shrine of Erechtheus the Earthborn (as he is called), wherein is an olive tree, and a salt-pool, which (as the Athenians say) were set there by Poseidon and Athene as tokens of their contention for the land.¹ Now it was so, that the olive tree was burnt with the temple by the foreigners; but on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the temple, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the trunk; which thing they reported.

56. When it was told to the Greeks at Salamis what had befallen the Athenian acropolis, they were so panic-struck that some of their captains would not wait till the matter whereon they debated should be resolved, but threw themselves aboard their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those that were

¹ Athene created the olive, Poseidon the salt pool; Cecrops adjudged the land to Athene.

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μένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν. οὐδὲ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

57. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἰρετο Μιησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ηελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε “Οὔτ’ ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχῆσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἔκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὕτε σφέας Εύρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὕτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν ἀπολέεται τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίησι. ἀλλ’ εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἵθι καὶ πειρῷ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀναγνῶσαι Εύρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν.”

58. Κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλέι ἥρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἤιε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εύρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι· ὃ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάτα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἥκουσε Μιησιφίλου, ἐωστοῦ ποιεύμειος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηζῶν ἐκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνεδριον.

59. ‘Ως δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἡ τὸν Εύρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἴνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος·

left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus ; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked.

57. Themistocles then being returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what was the issue of their counsels. Learning from him that their plan was to sail to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, "Then," said Mnesiphilus, "if they put out to sea from Salamis, your ships will have no country left wherefor to fight ; for everyone will betake himself to his own city, and neither Eurybiades, nor any other man, will be able to hold them, but the armament will be scattered abroad ; and Hellas will perish by unwisdom. Nay, if there be any means thereto, go now and strive to undo this plan, if haply you may be able to persuade Eurybiades to change his purpose and so abide here."

58. This advice pleased Themistocles well ; making no answer to Mnesiphilus, he went to Eurybiades' ship, and said that he would confer with him on a matter of their common interest. Eurybiades bidding him come aboard and say what he would, Themistocles sat by him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, as it were of his own devising, and added much thereto, till he prevailed with the Spartan by entreaty to come out of his ship and assemble the admirals in their place of meeting.

59. They being assembled (so it is said), before Eurybiades had laid before them the matter wherefor the generals were brought together, Themistocles spoke long and vehemently in the earnestness of his entreaty ; and while he yet spoke, Adimantus son

λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὄκυτου εἶπε “⁷Ω Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξαμιστάμενοι ραπίζονται.” ὁ δὲ ἀπολυύμενος ἔφη “Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται.”

60. ^α Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρῆσονται· παρεόρτων γὰρ τῷ συμμάχῳ οὐκ ἔφερέ οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν. ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων τάδε. “Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἔστι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγεϊ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχῆσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἔστι νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Λῆγιναν, ἢν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ γαυτικῷ αὐτῷ ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εύρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νησὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλάς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχέειν πρὸς ἡμέων ἔστι, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὗτις δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα·

of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, "At the games, Themistocles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods." "Ay," said Themistocles, justifying himself, "but they that wait too long win no crown."

60. Thus for the nonce he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then turning to Eurybiades, he said now nought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. "It lies in your hand," said he, "to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas. But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the

όμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἴ περ εὑν φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἦν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσί, οὕτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι οὕτε προβήσονται ἔκαστέρω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνη καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μέν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηίας γνώμας.”

61. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτις ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρὶς καὶ Εὔρυθιάδην οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἥλωκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης κείνον τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἐωντοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγω ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἦ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἀν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμοὺς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.

62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εύρυθιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. “Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃς, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς

Peloponnesian as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus. And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices."

61. Thus said Themistocles; but Adimantus the Corinthian attacked him again, saying that a landless man should hold his peace, and that Eurybiades must not suffer one that had no city to vote; let Themistocles (said he) have a city at his back ere he took part in council,—taunting him thus because Athens was taken and held by the enemy. Thereupon Themistocles spoke long and bitterly against Adimantus and the Corinthians, giving them plainly to understand that the Athenians had a city and country greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for there were no Greeks that could beat them off.

62. Thus declaring, he passed over to Eurybiades, and spoke more vehemently than before. "If you abide here, by so abiding you will be a right good man; but if you will not, you will overthrow Hellas; for all our strength for war is in our ships. Nay, be guided by me. But if you do not so, we then

HERODOTUS

ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς
Σῦριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἢ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ
παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν
δέειν κτισθῆναι ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε
μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.”

63. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδι-
δάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας
μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μή σφεας
ἀπολίπωσι, ἢν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγῃ τὰς νέας·
ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο
ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἴρεεται τὴν
γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαγανμαχέειν.

64. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκρο-
βολισάμενοι, ἐπείτε Εὐρυβιάδη ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ
παρεσκευάζοντο ώς ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἡμέρη τε
ἐγίνετο καὶ ἄμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο
ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι
εὖξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς
Λιακίδας συμμάχους. ώς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ
ἐποίειν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι,
αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Λίαντά τε καὶ Τελα-
μῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Λιακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
Λιακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

65. "Εφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος
φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπείτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ
χώρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα
ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἄμα Δημαρήτῳ
τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἵδειν δὲ

¹ The images of Aeacus and his sons; *cp.* v. 80.

² N.W. of Athens, from which Eleusis is about 15 miles distant. Plutarch says that the vision was seen on the day

without more ado will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony ; and you, left without allies such as we are, will have cause to remember what I have said."

63. These words of Themistocles moved Eurybiades to change his purpose ; which to my thinking he did chiefly because he feared lest the Athenians should leave him if he took his ships to the Isthmus ; for if the Athenians should leave the fleet the rest would be no match for the enemy. He chose then the plan aforesaid, namely, to abide and fight on the seas where they were.

64. Thus after this wordy skirmish the Greeks at Salamis prepared, since Eurybiades so willed, to fight their battle where they were. At sunrise on the next day there was an earthquake on land and sea ; and they resolved to pray to the gods, and to call the sons of Aeacus to be their helpers. As they resolved, so they did ; they prayed to all the gods, and called Aias and Telamon to come to them from Salamis, where the Greeks were ; and they sent a ship to Aegina for Aeacus and the rest that were of his House.¹

65. There was one Dicaeus, son of Theocydes, an exile from Athens who had attained to estimation among the Medes. This was the tale that he told : At the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army, and no Athenians were therein, he, being with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian² plain, saw dust coming of the battle of Salamis, which would thus have been fought on September 22 (20th of Boedromion) ; for it is assumed that the vision coincided in date with the standing date of the Eleusinian festival.

HERODOTUS

κοινορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν
μάλιστά κῃ τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας
τὸν κοινορτὸν ὅτεων κοτὲ εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ
πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν
φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχον. εἶναι δ'
ἀδαιμόνα τῶν ἵρων τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γινομένων
τὸν Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὅ τι τὸ φθεγ-
γόμενον εἴη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν “Δημάρητε,
οὐκ ἔστι ὄκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος
στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἑούσης τῆς
Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος
ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ τοῖσι συμ-
μάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μέν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν
Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλέϊ καὶ
τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ¹
τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν
στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν
δὲ ὄρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα
ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ
βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων μυεῖται·
καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὄρτῃ
ἱακχάζουσι.” πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον
“Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον
εἴπης· ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῆ τὰ ἔπεα
ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλήν, καί σε οὕτε ἐγὼ
δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι οὔτ’ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ
εἰς. ἀλλ’ ἔχ’ ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε
θεοῖσι μελήσει.” τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν,
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι
νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος
ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ
αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπο-
60

from Eleusis as it were raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men ; and as they marvelled greatly what men they should be whence the dust came, immediately they heard a cry, which cry seemed to him to be the Iacchus-song of the mysteries. Demaratus, not being conversant with the rites of Eleusis, asked him what this voice might be ; and Dicaeus said, "Without doubt, Demaratus, some great harm will befall the king's host ; for Attica being unpeopled, it is plain hereby that the voice we hear is of heaven's sending, and comes from Eleusis to the aid of the Athenians and their allies. And if the vision descend upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on land will be endangered ; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in peril of losing his fleet. As for this feast, it is kept by the Athenians every year for the honour of the Mother and the Maid,¹ and whatever Greek will, be he Athenian or other, is then initiated ; and the cry which you hear is the 'Iacchus' which is uttered at this feast." Demaratus replied thereto, "Keep silence, and speak to none other thus ; for if these words of yours be reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will avail to save you. Hold your peace ; and for this host, the gods shall look to it." Such was Demaratus' counsel ; and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis, to the Greek fleet. By this they understood, that Xerxes' ships must perish.—This was

¹ Demeter and Persephone.

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λέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρίτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τριχῶν θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπλεον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατά τε ἥπειρον καὶ τῇσι νησὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ ἐπί τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὕκω ἐπομένους βασιλέι, Μηλιέας καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἶπετο.

67. Ἐπεὶ ὧν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβίστεαι), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμῖξαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γυνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προϊζετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξιαρχοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἵζοντο

BOOK VIII. 65-67

the tale told by Dieaeus, son of Theocydes; and Demaratus and others (he said) could prove it true.

66. They that were appointed to serve in Xerxes' fleet, when they had viewed the hurt done to the Laconians and crossed over from Trachis to Histiaeia, after three days' waiting sailed through the Euripus, and in three more days they arrived at Phalerum. To my thinking, the forces both of land and sea were no fewer in number when they brake into Athens than when they came to Sepias and Thermopylae; for against those that were lost in the storm, and at Thermopylae, and in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set these, who at that time were not yet in the king's following—namely, the Melians, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the whole force of Boeotia (save only the Thespians and Plataeans), yea, and the men of Carystus and Andros and Tenos and the rest of the islands, save the five states of which I have before made mention.¹ For the farther the Persian pressed on into Hellas the more were the peoples that followed in his train.

67. So when all these were come to Athens, except the Parians (who had been left behind in Cythnus watching to see which way the war should incline)—the rest, I say, being come to Phalerum, Xerxes then came himself down to the fleet, that he might consort with the shipmen and hear their opinions. When he was come, and sat enthroned, there appeared before him at his summons the despots of their cities and the leaders of companies from the ships, and they sat according to the

¹ In ch. 46, where, however, six states are mentioned.

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ώς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἔδεδώκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὡλλοι. ως δὲ κύσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἵζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο.

68. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῳών εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἄρξα-
μενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τῶντὸ γνώμην ἔξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη. “Εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ως ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὕτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εύβοίη οὕτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ ἑοῦσαν γνώμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδεί-
κνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγ-
ματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἴνεκα ὄρμιθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἴσταται οὐδείς· οἱ δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ως κείνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀπο-
βήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς γαυμαχίην ποιεύ-
μενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχης πρὸς γῆ μένων ἥ καὶ προβαίρων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι δέσποτα χωρίσει τὰ γοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ οἷοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾶς, κατὰ πόλις δὲ ἔκαστοι φεύξονται. οὕτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ως ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὕτε αὐτοὺς

honourable rank which the king had granted them severally, first in place the king of Sidon, and next he of Tyre, and then the rest. When they had sat down in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius and put each to the test by questioning him if the Persian ships should offer battle.

68. Mardonius went about questioning them, from the Sidonian onwards ; and all the rest gave their united voice for offering battle at sea ; but Artemisia said : “ Tell the king, I pray you, Mardonius, that I who say this have not been the hindmost in courage or in feats of arms in the fights near Euboea. Nay, master, but it is right that I should declare my opinion, even that which I deem best for your cause. And this I say to you—Spare your ships, and offer no battle at sea ; for their men are as much stronger by sea than yours, as men are stronger than women. And why must you at all costs imperil yourself by fighting battles on the sea ? have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you set out on this march, and of the rest of Hellas ? no man stands in your path ; they that resisted you have come off in such plight as beseeemed them. I will show you now what I think will be the course of your enemies’ doings. If you make no haste to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and abide near the land, or even go forward into the Peloponnese, then, my master, you will easily gain that end wherefor you have come. For the Greeks are not able to hold out against you for a long time, but you will scatter them, and they will flee each to his city ; they have no food in this island, as I am informed, nor, if you

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οἰκός, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνης τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμιεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἥκοντας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχέειν. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλίσηται. πρὸς δὲ, ὡς βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλευ, ώς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶι ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἔοντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσί, οἱ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶι ὅφελος ἔστι οὐδέν.”

69. Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἥσταν εὔνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ώς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀγεόμενοί τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἄτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσι ώς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἴνεε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίη σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ώς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάστο θείσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

70. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἥσυχίην. τότε μέν νυν οὐκ ἔξεχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νὺξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν

lead your army into the Peloponnese, is it likely that those of them who have come from thence will abide unmoved; they will have no mind to fight sea-battles for Athens. But if you make haste to fight at once on sea, I fear lest your fleet take some hurt and thereby harm your army likewise. Moreover, O king, call this to mind—good men's slaves are wont to be evil and bad men's slaves good; and you, who are the best of all men, have evil slaves, that pass for your allies, men of Egypt and Cyprus and Cilicia and Pamphylia, in whom is no usefulness."

69. When Artemisia spoke thus to Mardonius, all that were her friends were sorry for her words, thinking that the king would do her some hurt for counselling him against a sea-fight; but they that had ill-will and jealousy against her for the honour in which she was held above all the allies were glad at her answer, thinking it would be her undoing. But when the opinions were reported to Xerxes he was greatly pleased by the opinion of Artemisia; he had ever deemed her a woman of worth and now held her in much higher esteem. Nevertheless he bade the counsel of the more part to be followed; for he thought that off Euboea his men had been slack fighters by reason of his absence, and now he purposed to watch the battle himself.

70. When the command to set sail was given, they put out to Salamis and arrayed their line in order at their ease. That day there was not time enough left to offer battle, for the night came; and they made preparation for the next day instead. But the

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νίστεραινην. τοὺς δὲ "Ελληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἀρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωսτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

71. Καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ' ἵπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπῆν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀια-ξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός. ιζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἄτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεes ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνυνον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὕτε νυκτὸς οὕτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἵδε ἦσαν Ἐλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἐρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάdi κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι

¹ A track (later made into a regular road) leading to the Isthmus along the face of Geraneia: narrow and even

BOOK VIII. 70-72

Greeks were in fear and dread, and especially they that were from the Peloponnese; and the cause of their fear was, that they themselves were about to fight for the Athenians' country where they lay at Salamis, and if they were overcome they must be shut up and beleaguered in an island, leaving their own land unguarded. At the next nightfall, the land army of the foreigners began its march to the Peloponnese.

71. Nathless the Greeks had used every device possible to prevent the foreigners from breaking in upon them by land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that Leonidas' men at Thermopylae were dead, they hasted together from their cities and encamped on the Isthmus, their general being the brother of Leonidas, Cleombrotus son of Anaxandrides. Being there encamped they broke up the Scironian road,¹ and thereafter built a wall across the Isthmus, having resolved in council so to do. As there were many tens of thousands there and all men wrought, the work was brought to accomplishment; for they carried stones to it and bricks and logs and crates full of sand, and they that mustered there never rested from their work by night or by day.

72. Those Greeks that mustered all their people at the Isthmus were the Lacedaemonians and all the Arcadians, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trozenians, and men of Hermione. These were they who mustered there, and were moved by great fear for Hellas in her peril; but the rest of the Peloponnesians cared

dangerous for some six miles, and very easily made impassable.

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Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὁλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρυεια παροιχώκεε ἥδη.

73. Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἐπτά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἔοντα κατὰ χώρην ἔδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἴκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιϊκὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἔξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἑωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἐπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπίγλυδα ἐστί, Δωριέες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλιες, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἡλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἐρμιών τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλη τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημιών δὲ Παρωρεῆται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἔοντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἰωνεῖς, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπό τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἔοιτες Ὁριεῆται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλιες, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.

74. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἄτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἥδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τῇσι νησὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεοι, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αἰτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς συγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὔρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἔξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,

nothing ; and the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past.¹

73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese ; two of these, the Arcadians and Cynurians, are native to the soil and are now settled where they have ever been ; and one nation, the Achaean, has never departed from the Peloponnese, but has left its own country and dwells in another. The four that remain of the seven have come from elsewhere, namely, the Dorians and Aetolians and Dryopians and Lemnians ; the Dorians have many notable cities, the Aetolians Elis alone ; the Dryopians have Hermione and that Asine which is near Cardamyle of Laconia ; and the Lemnians, all the Paroreatae. The Cynurians are held to be Ionians, and the only Ionians native to the soil, but their Argive masters and time have made Dorians of them ; they are the people of Orneae and the country round. Now of these seven nations all the cities, save those aforesaid, sat apart from the war ; and if I may speak freely, by so doing they took the part of the enemy.

74. So the Greeks on the Isthmus had such labour to cope withal, seeing that now all they had was at stake, and they had no hope of winning renown with their ships ; but they that were at Salamis, although they heard of the work, were affrighted, and their dread was less for themselves than for the Peloponnese. For a while there was but murmuring between man and man, and wonder at Eurybiades' unwisdom, but at the last came an open outbreak ; and an assembly was held, where there was much speaking of the same matters as before, some saying

¹ That is, there was no longer any excuse for their not coming. *Cp.* vii. 205.

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οἵ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἴη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γρώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἔξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἔξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοίῳ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιῆτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὅλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοίῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. “Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναῖον λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἑλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἀπάντων ἔξεργάσασθαι, ἵνη μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλιγλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἔωντούς τε σφέας ὅψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή.”

76. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν ιησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ'

that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face danger for that country, rather than abide and fight for a land won from them by the spear; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading that they should remain and defend themselves where they were.

75. Then Themistocles, when the Peloponnesians were outvoting him, went privily out of the assembly, and sent to the Median fleet a man in a boat, charged with a message that he must deliver. This man's name was Sicinnus, and he was of Themistocles' household and attendant on his children; at a later day, when the Thespians were receiving men to be their citizens, Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a wealthy man withal. He now came in a boat and spoke thus to the foreigners' admirals: "I am sent by the admiral of the Athenians without the knowledge of the other Greeks (he being a friend to the king's cause and desiring that you rather than the Greeks should have the mastery) to tell you that the Greeks have lost heart and are planning flight, and that now is the hour for you to achieve an incomparable feat of arms, if you suffer them not to escape. For there is no union in their counsels, nor will they withstand you any more, and you will see them battling against each other, your friends against your foes."

76. With that declaration he departed away. The Persians put faith in the message; and first they landed many of their men on the islet Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then, at midnight, they advanced their western wing

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έσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἴνεκα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι "Ελλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἔξῃ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτέμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐσ δὲ τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ώς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἔξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ τῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίευν δὲ συγῇ ταῦτα, ώς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐγαντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

77. Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ώς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθέες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐσ τοιάδε πρήγματα¹ ἐσβλέψας.

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτήν
νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν
ἔλπίδι μαινομένη, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθίνας,
δια δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὑβριος νιόν,
δεινὸν μαιμώοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

¹ *ρήματα* is suggested, and would certainly be more natural.

¹ For a brief notice of controversy respecting the operations off Salamis, see the Introduction to this volume. The locality of Ceos and Cynosura is conjectural.

towards Salamis for encirclement, and they too put out to sea that were stationed off Ceos and Cynosura ; and they held all the passage with their ships as far as Munychia.¹ The purpose of their putting out to sea was, that the Greeks might have no liberty even to flee, but should be hemmed in at Salamis and punished for their fighting off Artemisium. And the purpose of their landing Persians on the islet called Psyttalea was this, that as it was here in especial that in the sea fight men and wrecks would be washed ashore (for the island lay in the very path of the battle that was to be), they might thus save their friends and slay their foes. All this they did in silence, lest their enemies should know of it. So they made these preparations in the night, taking no rest.

77. But, for oracles, I have no way of gainsaying their truth ; for they speak clearly, and I would not essay to overthrow them, when I look into such matter as this :

“ When that with lines of ships thy sacred coasts
 they have fencèd,
 Artemis² golden-sworded, and thine, sea-washed
 Cynosura,
 All in the madness of hope, having ravished the
 glory of Athens,
 Then shall desire full fed, by pride o'erweening
 engendered,
 Raging in dreadful wrath and athirst for the
 nations' destruction,
 Utterly perish and fall ; for the justice of heaven
 shall quench it ;

² There were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the Attic shore.

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χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἴματι δ' Ἀρης πόντον φοινίξει. τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμαρ εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐζήτουαν μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίης χρησμῶν πέρι οὕτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὕτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὥθισμὸς λόγων πολλός· ἥδεσαν δὲ οὕκω ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νησὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἐγὼ νειόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἀριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνησι καὶ δικαιότατον. οὗτος ὡνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔόντα μὲν ἐωντῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλθε οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. “Ἴμεας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὄκοτερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἵσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελο-

Bronze upon bronze shall clash, and ^{ti.} which my
bidding of Ares ^{hians and}
Redden the seas with blood. But Zeus far-s^cannot;
and hallowed ^{Do}
Victory then shall grant that Freedom dawn upon
Hellas."

Looking at such matter and seeing how clear is the utterance of Baeis, I neither venture myself to gainsay him as touching oracles nor suffer such gainsaying by others.

78. But among the admirals at Salamis there was a hot bout of argument; and they knew not as yet that the foreigners had drawn their ships round them, but supposed the enemy to be still where they had seen him stationed in the daylight.

79. But as they contended, there crossed over from Aegina Aristides son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, but one that had been ostracised by the commonalty; from that which I have learnt of his way of life I am myself well persuaded that he was the best and the justest man at Athens. He then came and stood in the place of council and called Themistocles out of it, albeit Themistocles was no friend of his but his chiefest enemy; but in the stress of the present danger he put that old feud from his mind, and so called Themistocles out, that he might converse with him. Now he had heard already, that the Peloponnesians desired to sail to the Isthmus. So when Themistocles came out, Aristides said, "Let the rivalry between us be now as it has been before, to see which of us two shall do his country more good. I tell you now, that it is all one for the Peloponnesians to talk much or little about sailing

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χαλκὸςι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόπόνται νῦν οὐδὲ οὐδὲ θέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ εἰς Ἐύρυνθιάδης οἶοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· μιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' εσελθών σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε.

80. "Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἥγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἵσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων ἔδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτός σφι ἄγγειλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ώς οὐ ποιεύντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλά σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ώς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνῃς, ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ώς σὺ λέγεις."

81. Ἐνθαῦτα ἐλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τεθῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ώς ἀλεξησομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὗτις ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

82. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ὥρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἦ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν.

away from hence ; for I say from that which my eyes have seen that now even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, they cannot ; we are hemmed in on all sides by our enemies. Do you go in now, and tell them this."

80. "Your exhortation is right useful," Themistocles answered, "and your news is good ; for you have come with your own eyes for witnesses of that which I desired might happen. Know that what the Medes do is of my contriving ; for when the Greeks would not of their own accord prepare for battle, it was needful to force them to it willy-nilly. But now since you have come with this good news, give your message to them yourself. If I tell it, they will think it is of my own devising, and they will never take my word for it that the foreigners are doing as you say ; nay, go before them yourself and tell them how it stands. When you have told them, if they believe you, that is best ; but if they will not believe you, it will be the same thing to us ; for if we are hemmed in on every side, as you say, they will no longer be able to take to flight."

81. Aristides then came forward and told them ; he was come, he said, from Aegina, and had been hard put to it to slip unseen through the blockade ; for all the Greek fleet was compassed round by Xerxes' ships, and they had best (he said) prepare to defend themselves. Thus he spoke, and took his departure. They fell a-wrangling again ; for the more part of the admirals would not believe that the news was true.

82. But while they yet disbelieved, there came a trireme with Tenian deserters, whose captain was one Panaetius son of Sosimenes, and this brought

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διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι "Ελλησι ἐς τὰς ὄγδωκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νέων τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

83. Τοῖσι δὲ "Ελλησι ώς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ρίματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ώς ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἡώς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ρῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἡκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἴγινης τριήρης, ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας "Ελληνες, ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι "Ελληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὕκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίη βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἴγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἀρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ως φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακε-

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them the whole truth. For that deed the men of Tenos were engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those that had vanquished the foreigner. With this ship that deserted to Salamis and the Lemnian which had already deserted to Artemisium, the Greek fleet, which had fallen short by two of three hundred and eighty, now attained to that full number.

83. The Greeks, believing at last the tale of the Tenians, made ready for battle. It was now earliest dawn, and they called the fighting men to an assembly, wherein Themistocles made an harangue in which he excelled all others; the tenor of his words was to array all the good in man's nature and estate against the evil; and having exhorted them to choose the better, he made an end of speaking and bade them embark. Even as they so did, came the trireme from Aegina which had been sent away for the Sons of Aeacus.¹

84. With that the Greeks stood out to sea in full force, and as they stood out the foreigners straightway fell upon them. The rest of the Greeks began to back water and beach their ships; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, pushed out to the front and charged a ship; which being entangled with his, and the two not able to be parted, the others did now come to Aminias' aid and joined battle. This is the Athenian story of the beginning of the fight; but the Aeginetans say that the ship which began it was that one which had been sent away to Aegina for the Sons of Aeacus. This story also is told,—that they saw the vision of a woman, who

¹ *cp. 64.*

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λεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν
Ἐλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὃνειδίσασαν πρότερον
τάδε, “Ω δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην
ἀνακρούεσθε;”

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες
(οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ
ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἰωνες.
οὗτοι δ’ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα.
ἐθελοκάκεοι μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους
ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες οὕ. ἔχω μέν νυν
συχνῶν οὐρόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν
νέας Ἐλληνίδας ἑλόντων, χρίσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι
οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος
καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων.
τοῦδε δὲ εἴνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι
Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυ-
ράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος
δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδω-
ρίθη πολλῇ. οἱ δ’ εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὁροσάγγαι
καλέονται περσιστί.

86. Περὶ μέν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ
πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο,
αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπ'
Αἰγινητέων. ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων σὺν
κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ
Βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ
ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίπεσθαι
οἵον περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἥσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο
ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν
ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίη, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ
δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἔκαστος ἐωυτὸν
θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

cried commands loud enough for all the Greek fleet to hear, uttering first this reproach, "Sirs, what madness is this? how long will you still be backing water?"

85. The Phoenicians (for they had the western wing, towards Eleusis) were arrayed opposite to the Athenians, and to the Lacedaemonians the Ionians, on the eastern wing, nearest to Piraeus. Yet but few of them fought slackly, as Themistocles had bidden them, and the more part did not so. Many names I could record of ships' captains that took Greek ships; but I will speak of none save Theomestor son of Androdamas and Phylacus son of Histiaeus, Samians both; and I make mention of these alone, because Theomestor was for this feat of arms made by the Persians despot of Samos, and Phylacus was recorded among the king's benefactors and given much land. These benefactors of the king are called in the Persian language, *orosangae*.¹

86. Thus it was with these two; but the great multitude of the ships were shattered at Salamis, some destroyed by the Athenians and some by the Aeginetans. For since the Greeks fought orderly and in array, but the foreigners were by now disordered and did nought of set purpose, it was but reason that they should come to such an end as befel them. Yet on that day they were and approved themselves by far better men than off Euboea; all were zealous, and feared Xerxes, each man thinking that the king's eye was on him.

¹ Perhaps from old Persian *var*, to guard, and *Kshayata*, king; or, as Rawlinson suggests, from *Khur sangha* (Zend) = worthy of praise or record. (How and Wells' note.)

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87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξεπέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἔκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὔδοκιμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεός Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἥσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίη ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. εὶ μὲν καὶ τι νεῦκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εὶ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εὶ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλᾶ ἑωστὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἶδε μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἡ Ἑλληνίδα εἴραι ἡ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

88. Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὔδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξη. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηέυμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δή τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων “Δέσποτα, ὡρᾶς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολε-

87. Now as touching some of the others I cannot with exactness say how they fought severally, foreigners or Greeks; but what befel Artemisia made her to be esteemed by the king even more than before. The king's side being now in dire confusion, Artemisia's ship was at this time being pursued by a ship of Attica; and she could not escape, for other friendly ships were in her way, and it chanced that she was the nearest to the enemy; wherefore she resolved that she would do that which afterwards tended to her advantage, and as she fled pursued by the Athenian she charged a friendly ship that bore men of Calyndus and the king himself of that place, Damasithymus. It may be that she had had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, but if her deed was done of set purpose, or if the Calyndian met her by crossing her path at haphazard, I cannot say. But having charged and sunk the ship, she had the good luck to work for herself a double advantage. For when the Attic captain saw her charge a ship of foreigners, he supposed that Artemisia's ship was Greek or a deserter from the foreigners fighting for the Greeks, and he turned aside to deal with others.

88. By this happy chance it came about that she escaped and avoided destruction; and moreover the upshot was that the very harm which she had done won her great favour in Xerxes' eyes. For the king (it is said) saw her charge the ship as he viewed the battle, and one of the bystanders said, "Sire, see you Artemisia, how well she fights, and

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μίων κατέδυσε; ” καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθέως ἔστι Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὔτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα “Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

89. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὄνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μιδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὅλιγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαριβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆσι νησὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέϊ, τῆσι σφετέρησι νησὶ φευγούσησι περιέπιπτον.

90. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἰωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὅν οὕτω ὥστε Ἰώρων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρητική

how she has sunk an enemy ship?" Xerxes then asking if it were truly Artemisia that had done the deed, they affirmed it, knowing well the ensign of her ship; and they supposed that the ship she had sunk was an enemy; for the luckiest chance of all which had (as I have said) befallen her was, that not one from the Calyndian ship was saved alive to be her accuser. Hearing what they told him, Xerxes is reported to have said, "My men have become women, and my women men"; such, they say, were his words.

89. In that hard fighting Xerxes' brother the admiral Ariabignes, son of Darius, was slain, and withal many other Persians and Medes and allies of renown, and some Greeks, but few; for since they could swim, they who lost their ships, yet were not slain in hand-to-hand fight, swam across to Salamis; but the greater part of the foreigners were drowned in the sea, not being able to swim. When the foremost ships were turned to flight, it was then that the most of them were destroyed; for the men of the rearmost ranks, pressing forward in their ships that they too might display their valour to the king, ran foul of their friends' ships that were in flight.

90. It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while

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νηῦς. ἡ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατέδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη
Αἰγαίναιή νηῦς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρίκων τὴν
νέα. ἄτε δὲ ἔοντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρίκες
τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλ-
λοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον
αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐρρύσατο·
ώς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασα-
μένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἷα ὑπερλυ-
πεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἴτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων
ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ¹
κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι.
ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωսτοῦ ἔργον
τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος
ὑπὸ τῷ ὅρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλέεται
Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ
γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον
καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο
φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν
τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς
τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

91. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων
καὶ ἐκπλεύντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται
ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου
ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκε-
ράιζον τάς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας
τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅκως
δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι
ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας.

92. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἡ τε Θεμιστοκλέος
διώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς
Αἰγινῆτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίη, ἡ περ εὗλε
τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγαίνην,

the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracsians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. For whenever Xerxes, from his seat under the hill over against Salamis called Aegaleos, saw any feat achieved by his own men in the battle, he inquired who was the doer of it, and his scribes wrote down the names of the ship's captain and his father and his city. Moreover it tended somewhat to the doom of the Phoenicians that Ariaramnes, a Persian, was there, who was a friend of the Ionians. So Xerxes' men dealt with the Phoenicians.

91. The foreigners being routed and striving to win out to Phalerum, the Aeginetans lay in wait for them in the passage and then achieved notable deeds; for the Athenians amid the disorder made havoc of all ships that would resist or fly, and so did the Aeginetans with those that were sailing out of the strait; and all that escaped from the Athenians fell in their course among the Aeginetans.

92. Two ships met there, Themistocles' ship pursuing another, and one that bore Polycritus son of Crius of Aegina; this latter had charged a Sidonian, the same which had taken the Aeginetan

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ἐπ' ἦς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενόος, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἴνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἄμα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἥλω ἡ νηὸς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Λίγιναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήιον ἵδων τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Λίγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μέν τυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοιτο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

93. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Λίγινηται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτος τε ὁ Λίγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινῆς Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μέν τυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἀν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἡ εἰλέ μιν ἦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύριαι δραχμαί, ὃς ἂν μιν ζωὴν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναικα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δή, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἥσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

94. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσατα,

¹ Polycritus cries to Themistocles, “See how friendly we are to the Persians!” Polycritus and his father had been

BOOK VIII. 92-94

ship that watched off Scyathus, wherein was Pytheas son of Ischenous, that Pytheas whom when gashed with wounds the Persians kept aboard their ship and made much of for his valour; this Sidonian ship was carrying Pytheas among the Persians when she was now taken, so that thereby he came safe back to Aegina. When Polyceritus saw the Attic ship, he knew it by seeing the admiral's ship's ensign, and cried out to Themistocles with bitter taunt and reproach as to the friendship of Aegina with the Persians.¹ Such taunts did Polyceritus hurl at Themistocles, after that he had charged an enemy ship. As for the foreigners whose ships were yet undestroyed, they fled to Phalerum and took refuge with the land army.

93. In that sea-fight the nations that won most renown were the Aeginetans, and next to them the Athenians; among men the most renowned were Polyceritus of Aegina and two Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, he who pursued after Artemisia. Had he known that she was in that ship, he had never been stayed ere he took hers or lost his own; such was the bidding given to the Athenian captain, and there was a prize withal of ten thousand drachmae for whoever should take her alive; for there was great wrath that a woman should come to attack Athens. She, then, escaped as I have already said; and the rest also whose ships were undestroyed were at Phalerum.

94. As for the Corinthian admiral Adimantus, the Athenians say that at the very moment when the ships joined battle he was struck with terror and taken as hostages by the Athenians when Aegina was charged with favouring the Persians (vi. 49, 73).

HERODOTUS

τὰ ἵστια ἀειράμενοι οὕχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσαύτως οὕχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινής κατὰ ἵρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῆδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἴναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ώς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. “Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὅρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἐλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἥρωντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν.” ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὗτις τάδε λέγειν, ώς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἴεν ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἦν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνωνται οἱ Ἐλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἔξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φύτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρέει δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἐλλάς.

95. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ώς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίεε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὄπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινής χώρης, γένος ἐόντες

BOOK VIII. 94-95

panic, and hoisting his sails fled away ; and when the Corinthians saw their admiral's ship fleeing they were off and away likewise. But when (so the story goes) they came in their flight near that part of Salamis where is the temple of Athene Sciras,¹ there by heaven's providence a boat met them which none was known to have sent, nor had the Corinthians, ere it drew nigh to them, known aught of the doings of the fleet ; and this is how they infer heaven's hand in the matter : when the boat came nigh the ships, those that were in it cried, "Adimantus, you have turned back with your ships in flight, and betrayed the Greeks ; but even now they are winning the day as fully as they ever prayed that they might vanquish their enemies." Thus they spoke, and when Adimantus would not believe they said further that they were ready to be taken for hostages and slain if the Greeks were not victorious for all to see. Thereupon Adimantus and the rest did turn their ships about and came to the fleet when all was now over and done. Thus the Athenians report of the Corinthians ; but the Corinthians deny it, and hold that they were among the foremost in the battle ; and all Hellas bears them witness likewise.

95. But Aristides son of Lysimachus, that Athenian of whose great merit I have lately made mention, did in this rout at Salamis as I will show : taking many of the Athenian men-at-arms who stood arrayed on the shores of Salamis, he carried them across to

¹ The temple stood on the southern extremity of Salamis. If the Persians at the outset of the battle were occupying the ends of the whole strait between Salamis and the mainland, it is not clear how the Corinthians could get to this point.

HERODOTUS

Αθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησῖδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἑλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτη ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἔόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἥσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσῃσι νησὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄγεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἥιστρα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτη ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξονσι
τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

97. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἦ αὐτοὶ νοίσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὔρωπῃ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἴναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωντοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τε Φοινικῆιος συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος.

¹ A narrow headland 2½ miles south of Phalerum; just where ships would be driven from the battle by a west wind.

the island Psyttalea, and they slaughtered in all Persians who were on that islet.

96. The sea-fight being broken off, the Greeks towed to Salamis all the wrecks that were still afloat in those waters, and held themselves ready for another battle, thinking that the king would yet again use his ships that were left. But many of the wrecks were caught by a west wind and carried to the strand in Attica called Colias;¹ so that not only was the rest of the prophecy fulfilled which had been uttered by Baeis and Musaeus concerning that sea-fight, but also that which had been prophesied many years ago by an Athenian oracle-monger named Lysistratus, about the wrecks that were here cast ashore (the import of which prophecy no Greek had noted) :

“Also the Colian dames shall roast their barley with oar-blades.”

But this was to happen after the king’s departure.

97. When Xerxes was aware of the calamity that had befallen him, he feared lest the Greeks (by Ionian counsel or their own devising) might sail to the Hellespont to break his bridges, and he might be cut off in Europe and in peril of his life ; and so he planned flight. But that neither the Greeks nor his own men might discover his intent, he essayed to build a mole across to Salamis,² and made fast a line of Phoenician barges to be a floating bridge and a wall ; and he made preparation for war, as though he would fight at sea again. The rest who saw him

² Ctesias and Strabo place this project before and not after the battle ; plainly it would have been useless (and indeed impossible) to the Persians after their defeat.

HERODOTUS

Αθηναῖς δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα ἀγωῆπιστέατο ώς ἐκ παντὸς γόου παρεσκεύασται κρένων πολεμίσειν. Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε ώς μάλιστα ἔμπειροι ἔόντα τῇς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

98. Ταῦτά τε ἄμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἔπειρε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θυητὸν ἔόν τοισι Πέρσῃσι ἔξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ώς ὁσέων ἀνήμερέων ἥτις πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίῃν ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὐτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὅμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ γὺνξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμουν τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρώτος δραμῶν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἕδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατά περ ἐν "Ελλησι ή λαμπαδηφορίᾳ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρίουν.

99. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ώς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὗτοι δῆτι Ηερσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ώς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνη πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμιήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥσαιρ ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείησι. ή δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὗτοι ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρή-

¹ Torch-races were run at certain Athenian festivals. They were of various kinds. One was “a relay or team race. There were several lines of runners; the first man in each

BOOK VIII. 97-99

so doing were fully persuaded that he was in all earnestness prepared to remain there and carry on the war; but none of this deceived Mardonius, who had best experience of Xerxes' purposes.

98. While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skilful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey; and these are stayed neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race¹ in honour of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, *angareion*.²

99. When the first message came to Susa, telling that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity; but the second, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all rent

line had his torch lighted at the altar and ran with it at full speed to the second, to whom he passed it on, the second to the third, and so on till the last man carried it to the goal. The line of runners which first passed its torch alight to the goal was the winning team" (How and Wells).

² ἄγγαπος is apparently a Babylonian word, the Persian word for a post-rider being in Greek ἀστράρῶν (How and Wells). ἄγγαπος passed into Greek usage; cf. Aesch. Ag. 282.

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ξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἵτιῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξη δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὄρων μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ταυμαχίης ποιεύμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν Βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἴη ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα· πλέον μέντοι ἔφερέ οἱ ἡ γυνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὅν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. “Δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἶνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγῶν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ήμūν, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἥδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι οὕτ’ ἐκ τῆς ἥπερου τῆσδε· οἴ τε ήμūν ἥντιώθησαι, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μέν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεε· οὐ γὰρ ἐστι “Ἑλλησι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μέν νυν ταῦτα ποίεε· εἰ δ’ ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸι ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν. σὺ

their tunies, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame ; and it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

100. Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. But Mardonius, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, considered with himself that he would be punished for over-persuading the king to march against Hellas, and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honourably by flying at a noble quarry ; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas ; wherefore taking all this into account he made this proposal : " Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed by reason of this that has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that all the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses ; and there is not one of these men, who think that they have now won a crowning victory, that will disembark from his ship and essay to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland ; they that have withstood us have paid the penalty. If then it so please you, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese ; or if it please you to wait, that also we can do. Be not cast down ; for the Greeks have no way of escape from being accountable for their former and their latter deeds, and becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said ; but if you are resolved that you will lead your army away, even then I have another

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Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι "Ελλησι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσησί τοι τι δεδίληται τῷ πριγμάτων, οὐδ' ἐρέεις ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Λίγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένορτο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἥδη δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοι εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἥθεα τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον."

101. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἔχάρη τε καὶ ἥσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιόν τε Βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἄμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλίγτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τούς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. "Κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὡς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσί, ἀλλὰ Βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ' ἀντόδεξις. ἐμὲ δὲ ἦ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιέειν, ἦ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δέ με κελεύει ἀπέλαυνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ δὲ ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβού-

plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians, nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should; and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Wherefore since the Persians are nowise to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved that you will not remain, do you march away homewards with the greater part of your army; but it is for me to enslave and deliver Hellas to you, with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose."

101. When Xerxes heard that, he was as glad and joyful as a man in his evil case might be, and said to Mardonius that he would answer him when he had first taken counsel which of the two plans he would follow; and as he consulted with those Persians whom he summoned, he was fain to bid Artemisia too to the council, because he saw that she alone at the former sitting had discerned what was best to do. When Artemisia came, Xerxes bade all others withdraw, both Persian counsellors and guards, and said to her: "It is Mardonius' counsel that I should abide here and attack the Peloponnese; for the Persians, he says, and the land army are nowise to blame for our disaster, and of that they would willingly give proof. Wherefore it is his counsel that I should do this; else he offers to choose out three hundred thousand men of the army and deliver Hellas to me enslaved, while I myself by his counsel march away homeward with the rest of the host. Now therefore I ask of you:

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λευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἐώσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσοι ὅκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὑρουλευσάμενος."

102. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευετο, ἢ δὲ λέγει τάδε. "Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἔστι συμβούλευμένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἴπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατίκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μέν σε ἀπελαύγειν ὅπισω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν καταστρέψηται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ γοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον ὡς δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὰ ἐγαντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλῃ ἔσται σέο τε περιεόντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἦν γὰρ σύ τε περιῆς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ "Ελληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ἦν τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ "Ελληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἶνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσαο, πυρώσας τὰς 'Αθήνας ἀπελᾶς."

103. "Ησθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβούλῃ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τά περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἀν δοκέειν ἐμοὶ· οὕτω καταρροδίκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παιδας ἐς "Εφεσον· νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδες οἱ συνέσποντο.

104. Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἐρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἔοντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ

as you did rightly in counselling me against the late sea-fight, so now counsel me as to which of these two things I shall be best advised to do."

102. Being thus asked for advice she replied : " It is difficult, O king, to answer your asking for advice by saying that which is best ; but in the present turn of affairs I think it best that you march away back, and that Mardonius, if he wills and promises to do as he says, be left here with those whom he desires. For if he subdue all that he offers to subdue, and prosper in the purpose wherewith he speaks, the achievement, Sire, is yours; for it will be your servants that have wrought it. But if again the issue be contrary to Mardonius' opinion, it is no great misfortune so long as you and all that household of yours be safe ; for while you and they of your house are safe, many a time and oft will the Greeks have to fight for their lives. As for Mardonius, if aught ill befall him, it is no matter for that ; nor will any victory of the Greeks be a victory in truth, when they have but slain your servant ; but as for you, you will be marching home after the burning of Athens, which thing was the whole purpose of your expedition."

103. Artemisia's counsel pleased Xerxes ; for it happened that she spoke his own purpose : in truth I think that he would not have remained, though all men and women had counselled him so to do ; so panic-stricken was he. Having then thanked Artemisia, he sent her away to carry his sons to Ephesus ; for he had some bastard sons with him.

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian ; this man was by birth of Pedasa, and the

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οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὔνούχων παρὰ βασιλέι¹ [οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τουτέοισι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπόν, τότε ἡ ἴερείη αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δέ σφι δὶς ἥδη ἐγένετο.

105. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἥδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἕδμεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὧνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χῖος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιτο παῖδας εἴδεος ἐπαρμένους, ἐκτάμνων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἔφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὔνούχοι πίστιος εὗνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἔξεταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἔδυστύχεε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

106. Ως δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δή τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εύρισκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλούς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθά, δεύτερα δέ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος

most honoured by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people : when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

105. Hermotimus, who came from this place Pedasa, had achieved a fuller vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man within my knowledge. Being taken captive by enemies and exposed for sale, he was bought by one Panionius of Chios, a man that had set himself to earn a livelihood out of most wicked practices ; he would procure beautiful boys and castrate and take them to Sardis and Ephesus, where he sold them for a great price ; for the foreigners value eunuchs more than perfect men, by reason of the full trust that they have in them. Now among the many whom Panionius had castrated in the way of trade was Hermotimus, who was not in all things unfortunate ; for he was brought from Sardis among other gifts to the king, and as time went on he stood higher in Xerxes' favour than any other eunuch.

106. Now while the king was at Sardis and there preparing to lead his Persian armament against Athens, Hermotimus came for some business that he had in hand down to the part of Mysia which is inhabited by Chiens and called Atarneus, and there he found Panionius. Perceiving who he was, he held long and friendly converse with him ; "it is to you," he said, "that I owe all this prosperity of

¹ The words in brackets are probably an interpolation, from i. 175, where they occur more appropriately.

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ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἦν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκέη ἐκείνη, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναικα. ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοική μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος τάδε. “Ω πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἥδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἔργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεες τε θεοὺς λιήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἵ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπῆγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην.” ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὅψιν ἡναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἑωυτούν παίδων τεσσέρων ἔόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταῦτα ἔργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μέν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ Ἐρμότιμος.

107. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίη ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἔφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὅμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατιηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλίρου ἀπῆγον ὅπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἔκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλέι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστῆρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι

mine; now if you will bring your household and dwell here, I will make you prosperous in return,"—promising this and that; Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. But Hermotimus, having got the man and all his household in his power, said to him: "Tell me, you that have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth! what harm had I or any of my fore-fathers done to you, to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? ay, you thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your devices of old; but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands, and now you shall be well content with the fulness of that justice which I will execute upon you." With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them, his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do; which done, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. Thus was Panionius overtaken by vengeance and by Hermotimus.

107. Having given his sons to Artemisia's charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose out whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavour availed. For that day matters went thus far; in the night, the admirals by the king's command put out to sea from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed, to guard the bridges for the king's passage. When the foreigners came near to the "Girdle"¹ in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut

¹ A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piraeus and Sunium.

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λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἰεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὥρωντες οἱ Ἑλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοιτα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἥλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ώς ἀλεξητόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μέν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι "Ανδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν "Ανδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβούλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ιθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλίσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐγαντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ώς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἀν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθείη ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἀν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ώς ἄγοντι μέν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρέειν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ δόπιστα φανήσεται, λιμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργους ἔχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἴα τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἵτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἡ πρὸ τούτου ὅμολογεόντων· τροφήν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπόν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην ἐατέον ὅν εἴηι φεύγειν, ἐς δὲ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἥδη τὸν

out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way; but learning at last that they were no ships but headlands they drew together and went on their way.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will essay not to be inactive, seeing that if he be inactive neither can his cause prosper nor can he find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger; but if he be adventurous and busy, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe may join itself to him severally, by conquest or ere that by compact; and he will live on whatsoever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us suffer him to flee, till he come in his flight to his own country; and thereafter let it be that country and not ours that is at stake in the war."

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ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἴχοντο τῆς γυνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατιγοί.

109. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τούς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιημέκτεον, ὥρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἐλεγέ σφι τάδε. “Καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ήμεῖς δέ, εῦρημα γὰρ εύρικαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνώσαμει, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἵ ἐφθύνησαν ἄνδρα ἕνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι ἔόντα ἀνόσιον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τά τε ἵρα καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἔχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἂμα δὲ τῷ ἕαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης.” ταῦτα ἐλεγέ ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν· τά περ ὅν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε,

With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians' escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and thus addressed them :—“This I have often seen with my eyes, and much oftener heard, that beaten men when they be driven to bay will rally and retrieve their former mishap. Wherefore I say to you,—as it is to a fortunate chance that we owe ourselves and Hellas, and have driven away so mighty a cloud of enemies, let us not pursue after men that flee. For it is not we that have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule, and that a wicked man and an impious; one that dealt alike with temples and homes; and burnt and overthrew the images of the gods, yea, that scourged the sea and threw fitters thereinto. But as it is well with us for the nonce, let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households; let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away; and when the next spring comes let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia.” This he said with intent to put somewhat to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer aught at the hands of the Athenians; and indeed it did so happen.

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to

Αθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἴησι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐών ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὐβουλος, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἥσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἥσαι, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βύσανταν ἀπικιεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλέι φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὗτις ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκουντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ τοῦν κατ’ ἥσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὄπιστα.

111. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μήτ’ ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μήτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδριοι ιησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προϊσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἥκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύς θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθώ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίην, οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἴησι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἥσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὑδαίμονες, αἱ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἥκοιεν εὖ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι

deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him ; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question whatsoever the message which he charged them to deliver to the king ; of whom one was again his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest abode with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes ; "Themistocles son of Neocles," he said, "who is the Athenian general, and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this : Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they would pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont ; and now he bids you go your way, none hindering you." With that message, the men returned in their boat.

111. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it ; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods ; as for us Andrians, we are but

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γεωπείρας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φιλοχωρέειν, περίην τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην, καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἔοντας Ἀιδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀδυναμίης τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

112. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης δέ, οὐ γάρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αὐτέομενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἔξαιρήσει. λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἵ πυνθανόμενοι τίγρες "Ανδρον" ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἴη ἐν αἰνῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα ἐπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνους. καίτοι Καρυστίοισί γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἴηνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο. Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἴλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν ἐξ "Ανδρου" ὄρμώμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτάτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἥμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἄμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἄμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χειμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν

blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

112. So far thus answering and refusing to give they were besieged. There was no end to Themistocles' avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money, and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. Thereby he collected great sums from the Carystians and Parians; for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian part, and that Themistocles was of all the generals the most esteemed; which so affrighted them that they sent money; and I suppose that there were other islanders too that gave, and not these alone, but I cannot with certainty say. Nevertheless the Carystians got thereby no respite from misfortune; but the Parians propitiated Themistocles with money and so escaped the armament. So Themistocles issued out from Andros and took monies from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113. They that were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road whereby they had come; for Mardonius was minded to give the king safe conduct, and deemed the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to

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Θεσσαλίη, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄμα τῷ ἕαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ἄταρος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Πέρσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφύρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἶλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἴδεα τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνηγδεε πεποιημένον· ἐν δὲ πλεῖστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἱρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Πέρσέων, ρώμῃ δὲ ἤσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἵππεῦσι.

114. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιος τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμογίοισι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὴ κίρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ω βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ρύσμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα.” ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε-

winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there chose out first all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general, who said that he would not quit the king's person; and next, the Persian cuirassiers, and the thousand horse,¹ and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their footmen and the rest of the horsemen. He chose these nations entire; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the goodliest men and those that he knew to have done some good service; but the Persians that he chose (men that wore torques and bracelets)² were more in number than those of any other nation, and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not so stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

114. Now while Mardonius was making choice of his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians, that they should demand justice of Xerxes for the slaying of Leonidas, and take what answer he should give them. The Spartans then sent a herald with all speed; who finding the army yet undivided in Thessaly, came into Xerxes' presence and thus spoke: "The Lacedaemonians and the Heraclidae of Sparta demand of you, king of the Medes! that you pay the penalty for the death of their king, whom you slew while he defended Hellas." At that Xerxes laughed; and after a long while he

¹ Two regiments of a thousand horse are mentioned in vii. 40 and 55 ² *cp. vii. 83.*

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στεὼς Μαρδόνιος, δεικινὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε “Τοιγὰρ σφὶ Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἵας ἔκείνοισι πρέπει.”

115. Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ρῆθεν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικυέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ώς εἰπεῖν. ὃκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ’ οὕστινας ἀγθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐστέοντο· εἱ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὑροιεν, οὐ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δεινδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρωι καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ’ ὄδον ἔφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῆσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἔκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἴρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παιόνες τοῖσι Θρήιξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πιγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

116. Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρῆιξ ἔργον ὑπερφυὲς ἔργαστο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἔκὼν εἴηι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ’ οἴχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὅρος τὴν

pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them."

115. So the herald took that utterance and departed; but Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly, and himself journeying with all speed to the Hellespont came in forty-five days to the passage for crossing, bringing back with him as good as none (if one may so say) of his host. Whithersoever and to whatsoever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce; and if they found none, they would take for their eating the grass of the field, and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing; so starved they were for hunger. Moreover a pestilence and a dysentery broke out among them on their way, whereby they died. Some that were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the cities whither he came in his march to care for them and nourish them, some in Thessaly and some in Siris of Paeonia and in Macedonia; in Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but in his return he received it not again; for the Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon.

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltae and the Crestonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the

HERODOTUS

Ροδόπην, τοῖσι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θείσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἀμα τῷ Ηέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες ἐξ ἔοντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

117. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Ηέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοιτο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι γησὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὑρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτίᾳ τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὄδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθιμσκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεόντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀμα Ξέρξη ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

118. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἡιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὄδοιπορίῃσι διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ἄταρνεϊ ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλέοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίην. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς γεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχιῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἴ τις ἐστί σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι "Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἐστι οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγή τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων."

mountains called Rhodope ; and he forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas ; but they took no account of that, for they had ever a desire to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march ; for which cause, when all the six of them returned back seathless, their father tore out their eyes.

117. This was their reward. But the Persians, journeying through Thrace to the passage, made haste to cross to Abydos in their ships ; for they found the bridges no longer made fast but broken by a storm. There their march was stayed, and more food was given them than on their way ; and by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water which they drank, many of the army that yet remained died. The rest came with Xerxes to Sardis.

118. But there is another tale, which is this :— When Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eion on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont, and himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In which voyage he was caught by a strong wind called Strymonian, that lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy lading of the ship (for the Persians of his company that were on the deck were so many), the king was affrighted and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance ; whereat the man said, “Sire, there is none, except there be a riddance of these many that are on board.” Hearing that, it

HERODOTUS

καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν
“Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασι-
λέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ
σωτηρίη.” τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυ-
νέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα
ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν
Ἀσίην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν
Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος
τὴν ψυχήν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσέη στεφάνη τὸν
κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε,
ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ
Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὕτε
ἄλλως οὕτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ
δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς
Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω
ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ ἀν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε,
τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι
ἐς κοίλην νέα ἔοντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς
πρώτους, τῶν δ’ ἐρετέων ἔοντων Φοινίκων ὅκας
οὐκ ἀν ἵσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς
τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ’ δὲ μέν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι
εἴρηται, ὁδῷ χρεώμενος ἄμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ
ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον φαίνεται
γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὁπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς
Ἀβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ
δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ
χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρῖται,
λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο
τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁπίσω, ὡς ἐν
ἀδείᾳ ἐών. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἴδρυται πρὸς τοῦ

is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, "Now it is for you to prove yourselves careful for your king ; for it seems that my deliverance rests with you" ; whereat they did obeisance and leapt into the sea ; and the ship, being thus lightened, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

119. This is the other tale of Xerxes' return ; but I for my part believe neither the story of the Persians' fate, nor any other part of it. For if indeed the pilot had spoken to Xerxes as aforesaid, I think that there is not one in ten thousand but would say that the king would have bidden the men on deck (who were Persians and of the best blood of Persia) descend into the ship's hold, and would have taken of the Phoenician rowers a number equal to the number of the Persians and cast them into the sea. Nay, the truth is that Xerxes did as I have already said, and returned to Asia with his army by road.

120. And herein too lies a clear proof of it : it is known that when Xerxes came to Abdera in his return he entered into bonds of friendship with its people, and gave them a golden sword and a gilt tiara ; and as the people of Abdera say (but for my part I wholly disbelieve them), it was here that Xerxes in his flight back from Athens first loosed his girdle,¹ as being here in safety. Now Abdera

¹ *cp.* perhaps v. 106, where Histiaeus swears to Darius that he will not take off his tunic till he reaches Ionia ; or the reference may be to a man's being *εὐξωρος* (with his 'loins girded up') for swift travel.

HERODOTUS

Ἐλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς
Πιόνος, ὅθεν δή μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγίνοντο
ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἀιδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ
δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς
Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μέν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον
ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας,
τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς
ἔμε ἥν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Λίαντι
αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο
τὴν ληίην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς
Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ
χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυώδεκα
πηχέων· ἐστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐς
Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῆ εἰ λελάβηκε
πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὃ δὲ παρ'
Ἐλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ
Αἰγαιητέων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ
ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γαυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται
δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οὐ ἐπὶ
ιστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης,
ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαιρεσιν τῆς ληίης ἐπλεον
οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήια δώσοντες
τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἐλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον
τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέγεμον
τὰς ψῆφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν
πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων,
ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον,
αὐτὸς ἔκαστος δοκέων ἀριστῆς γενέσθαι, δεύτερα

lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eïon, where they say that he took ship.

121. As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros they betook themselves to Carystus, and having laid it waste they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoenician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Aias at Salamis where they were. After that, they divided the spoil and sent the firstfruits of it to Delphi; whereof was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figure-head of a ship; this stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

122. Having sent the firstfruits to Delphi the Greeks inquired in common of the god, if the first-fruits that he had received were of full measure and if he was content therewith; whereat he said that this was so as touching what he received from all other Greeks, but not from the Aeginetans; of these he demanded the victor's prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learnt that, they dedicated three golden stars that are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus' bowl.

123. After the division of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. But when the admirals came and gave their divers votes at the altar of Poseidon, to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them there voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service, but the greater part of them united in giving the second

HERODOTUS

δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες.
οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνοῦντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοισι
ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

124. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν
Ἐλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων
ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης
ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν
Ἐλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακε-
δαίμονα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ
ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήια μέν νυν ἔδοσαν¹. . . Εὐ-
ρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιό-
τητος Θεμιστοκλέι καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης.
ἐδωρήσαντό τέ μιν ὅχω τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλι-
στεύσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν
ἀπιόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι
οἵ περ ἵππεες καλέονται, μέχρι οὕρων τῶν Τεγεη-
τικῶν. μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν
ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

125. Ως δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς
Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν
ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐών, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ
τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνεί-
κεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπιξιν
προφέρων, ώς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ
παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ὃ δέ,
ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος,
εἰπε “Οὔτω ἔχει τοις οὕτ’ ἀν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβιτίης

¹ Stein supposes that something is omitted before Εὐρυ-
βιάδῃ, perhaps ἀνδραγαθίης.

place to Themistocles. So they each gained but one vote, but Themistocles far outstripped them in votes for the second place.

124. The Greeks were too jealous to adjudge the prize, and sailed away each to his own place, leaving the matter doubtful; nevertheless, Themistocles was cried up, and all Hellas glorified him for the wisest man by far of the Greeks. But because he had not received from them that fought at Salamis the honour due to his pre-eminence, immediately afterwards he betook himself to Lacedaemon, that he might receive honour there; and the Lacedaemonians made him welcome and paid him high honour. They bestowed on Eurybiades a crown of olive as the reward of excellency, and another such crown on Themistocles for his wisdom and cleverness; and they gave him the finest chariot in Sparta; and with many words of praise, they sent him on his homeward way with the three hundred picked men of Sparta who are called Knights to escort him as far as the borders of Tegea. Themistocles was the only man of whom I have heard to whom the Spartans gave this escort.

125. But when Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedaemon, Timodemus of Aphidnae, who was one of Themistocles' enemies but a man in no-wise notable, was crazed with envy and spoke bitterly to Themistocles of his visit to Lacedaemon, saying that the honours he had from the Lacedaemonians were paid him for Athens' sake and not for his own. This he would continually be saying; till Themistocles replied, "This is the truth of the matter—had I been of Belbina¹ I had not been thus honoured

¹ An islet S. of Sunium; a typical instance of an unimportant place.

HERODOTUS

ἐτιμίθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὗτ' ἀν σὺ, ὥνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἔγένετο.

126. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαργάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἐών, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἐξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὃ δὲ ὅπιστο πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Ιαλλήνην ἐγίνετο, ἄτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπίγοντος ἦκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχῶν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαιῆτησι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῆται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτιδαιαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἴλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

128. Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαιῇ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δέ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὅντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὡν λέγεται), τέλος

by the Spartans; nor had you, sirrah, for all you are of Athens." Such was the end of that business.

126. Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who was already a notable man among the Persians and grew to be yet more so by the Plataean business, escorted the king as far as the passage with sixty thousand men of the army that Mardonius had chosen. Xerxes being now in Asia, when Artabazus came near Pallene in his return (for Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and making no haste to come to the rest of his army), he thought it right that he should enslave the people of Potidaea, whom he found in revolt. For the king having marched away past the town and the Persian fleet taken flight from Salamis, Potidaea had openly revolted from the foreigners; and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene.

127. Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidaea; and suspecting that Olynthus too was plotting revolt from the king, he laid siege to it also, the town being held by Bottiaeans who had been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Having besieged and taken Olynthus, he brought these men to a lake and there cut their throats, and delivered their city over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone^z and the Chalcidian people; and thus the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus.

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidaea; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scio-naeans, who agreed to betray the place to him; I know not how the agreement was first made, nothing being told thereof; but the end was as I

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μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ὅκως βυθλίον γράψει ἡ Τιμόξειος ἔθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἡ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλίξαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυθλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάιστος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμόξειος προδιδοὺς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαιήτεω τὸν ὄμοιον, τὸν δὲ βλιθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυθλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλλιγναίων συμμαχίη. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυθλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίη τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἶνεκα, μὴ νομιζούσατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγέγονε· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ιδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενομένον παρίσταν ἐς τὴν Παλλιγνην. ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορίκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλιγνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὥση οὐδαμά κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθεί-

¹ Probably points on each side of the notch (where the arrow lies on the string) to give the fingers better grip.

will now show. Whenever Timoxenus wrote a letter for sending to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they would wrap it round the shaft of an arrow at the notches¹ and put feathers to the letter, and shoot it to a place whereon they had agreed. But Timoxenus' plot to betray Potidaea was discovered; for Artabazus in shooting an arrow to the place agreed upon, missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidaea; and a throng gathering quickly round the man when he was struck (which is a thing that ever happens in war), they straightway took the arrow and found the letter and carried it to their generals, the rest of their allies of Pallene being also there present. The generals read the letter and perceived who was the traitor, but they resolved for Scione's sake that they would not smite Timoxenus to the earth with a charge of treason, lest so the people of Scione should ever after be called traitors.

129. Thus was Timoxenus' treachery brought to light. But when Artabazus had besieged Potidaea for three months, there was a great ebb-tide in the sea, lasting for a long while, and when the foreigners saw that the sea was turned to a marsh they made to pass over it into Pallene. But when they had made their way over two fifths of it and three yet remained to cross ere they could be in Pallene, there came a great flood-tide, higher, as the people of the place say, than any one of the many that had been before; and some of them that knew not how

"The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put over it to hide it" (How and Wells).

ροιτο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτίδαιῆται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αἵτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτίδαιῆται τῆς τε ρηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν ιηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ισέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων οἵ περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἵτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἐπρηξαν.

130. Ο δὲ γαυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἔχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρώιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἔχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτευον. στρατιηγοὶ δέ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίον καὶ Ἀρταύντης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεω· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοισι καὶ ἀδελφιδέος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτριης. ἄτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήισαν ἀνωτέρῳ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέριης, οὐδὲ ἐπηνάγκαξε οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ιάσι τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσέδεκοντο τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἑωսτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλ' ἀσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μέν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεξῆ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατῆσειν

to swim were drowned, and those that knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay herein, that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon that was in the suburb of the city ; and I think that in saying that this was the cause they say rightly. They that escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared these men, who had been the king's escort.

130. All that was left of Xerxes' fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered ; the most of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. Mardonius son of Bagaeus and Artaÿntes son of Artachaeus came to be their admirals, and Artaÿntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor was any man instant that they should so do, but they lay off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia, the whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, being three hundred ; nor in truth did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country ; thus they inferred, because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that

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τὸν Μαρδόνιον. ἔόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἄμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἴ τι δυναίατο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ ὡτακούστεον ὅκη πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

131. Τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας τό τε ἕαρ γινόμενον ἥγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ἐών. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκω συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς Λίγιαν, νέες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ταύρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Ἰπποκρατίδεω τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἀραξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εύνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Ηρυτάνιος τοῦ Εύρυφῶρτος τοῦ Ηροκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ¹ Τύλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἑτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Λθηραίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.

132. Ως δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Λίγιαν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκουντο Ἰώρων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷρι Ἑλλήνων, οἱ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωρίην τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιλιγίδεω ἦρι οἱ στασιῶται σφίσι γενομένοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, ἔότες ἀρχὴν ἑπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοιτο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν

¹ The first royal house was the line of Agis, from whom Leonidas was descended (vii. 204). The second was the line of Euryphon. In the present list "the first king among the

on land Mardonius would easily prevail. So they were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm they could to their enemies, and to listen the while for tidings of how it went with Mardonius.

131. But as for the Greeks, the coming of spring and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to action. They had not yet begun the mustering of their army, but their fleet, an hundred and ten ships, came to Aegina; and their general and admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, tracing his lineage from son to father through Hegesilaus, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus who was the son of Heracles; he was of the second royal house.¹ All the aforesaid had been kings of Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides. The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son of Ariphron.

132. When all the ships were arrived at Aegina, there came to the Greek quarters messengers from the Ionians, the same who a little while before that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Lacedaemonians to free Ionia; of whom one was Herodotus the son of Basileides.² These, who at first were seven, made a faction and conspired to slay Strattis, the despot of Chios; but when their conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices

ancestors of Leutychides is Theopompus, the seven more immediate ancestors of L. belonging to a younger branch, which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus" (How and Wells).

² Otherwise unknown.

μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔξ ἐόντες ὑπεξεσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκουντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυναν, τῷν Ἐλλήνων δεόμεροι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην¹ οἱ προίγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἐλλησι οὕτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμου ἐπιστέατο δύξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἶσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀγωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἐλληνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥω κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.

133. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἐλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὄρμώμενος ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὗνομα ἦν Μῆν, ἐντελάμενος πανταχῆ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἵα τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ διη λέγεται· δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

134. Οὗτος ὁ Μῆν ἐς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρίσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατά περ

¹ "As far off as the Straits of Gibraltar"--a figure of distance.

having revealed their enterprise, the six that remained got them privily out of Chios, whence they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreating the Greeks to sail to Ionia. The Greeks brought them as far as Delos, and that not readily; for they feared all that lay beyond, having no knowledge of those parts, and thinking that armed men were everywhere; and they supposed that Samos was no nearer to them than the Pillars of Heracles.¹ So it fell out that the foreigners were too disheartened to dare to sail farther west than Samos, while at the same time the Greeks dared go at the Chians' request no farther east than Delos; thus fear kept the middle space between them.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Having here his headquarters he sent thence a man of Europus called Mys to visit the places of divination, charging him to inquire of all the oracles whereof he could make trial. What it was that he desired to learn from the oracles when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for none tells of it; but I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning his present business, and that alone.

134. This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonius,² and to have gone to the place of divination at Abae in Phocis; to Thebes too he first went, where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the

² See How and Wells *ad loc.* for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity: also on Amphiarus and "Ptoan" Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.

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ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἥροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τιγὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔξεστι μαρτεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὀκύτερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἐωυτῷ ἢ ἄτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδεὶς αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.

135. Τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφώμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ητφού Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἥρον καλέεται μὲν Πτῶον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὅρεϊ ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἥρον ἐπείτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἔπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἴρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ώς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χρᾶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὁ τι χρήσωνται τῷ παρεόντι πρίγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἔξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφίγτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρίη μιν γλώσσῃ χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενοι δὲ οἵχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

136. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ τι δὴ λέγοιτα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς

way of divination, even as at Olympia), and moreover bribed one that was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraus. No Theban may seek a prophecy there; for Amphiaraus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they would and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally; and they chose that he should be their ally; wherefore no Theban may lay him down to sleep in that place.

135. But at this time there happened, as the Thebans say, a thing at which I marvel greatly. It would seem that this man Mys of Europus came in his wanderings among the places of divination to the precinct of Ptoan Apollo. This temple is called Ptoum,¹ and belongs to the Thebans; it lies by a hill, above the lake Copais, very near to the town Aeraephia. When the man called Mys entered into this temple, three men of the town following him that were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, straightway the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue. The Thebans that followed him stood astonished to hear a strange language instead of Greek, and knew not what this present matter might be; but Mys of Europus snatched from them the tablet that they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian; and having written all down he went away back to Thessaly.

136. Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles; and presently he sent a messenger to Athens,

¹ Called after Ptous, son of Athamas, according to Apollodorus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children's lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, *ep.* vii. 197.

Αθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὶν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἵ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδίθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπειτα. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτίσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο. τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τά περ ἀν καὶ ἥν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθέ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἀν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτα οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπειτα.

137. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἔβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἀργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογότων τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γανάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ

¹ Alabanda was not in Phrygia but in Caria (*cp. vii. 195*); Stein prefers to read Alabastra, a town which Herodotus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, places in Phrygia.

Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas; him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; for Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaea Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda¹ a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling; and partly he sent him because he learnt that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. If he gained their friendship he looked to be easily master of the seas, as truly he would have been; and on land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger; so he reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. Peradventure this was the prediction of the oracles, counselling him to make the Athenian his ally, and it was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

137. This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the despotism of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos² to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdiccas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebaea. There they served for wages as

² The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argeadae, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.

έθήτευον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέι, ὃ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὃ δὲ βοῦς, ὃ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Ηερδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτὴ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσσε· ἥσαρ γὰρ τὸ πᾶλαι καὶ αἱ τυραινίδες τῶν ἀιθρώπων ἀσθειέες χρίμασι, οὐ μοῦνον ὁ δῆμος· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῷη, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Ηερδίκκεω διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄιδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θῆτας προηγόρευε σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ. οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἵνα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπιδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβῆς γειρόμενος “Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἀξιον τόνος ἀποδίδωμι,” δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γανάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἱκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἴπας τάδε “Δεκόμεθα ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ διδοῖς,” περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἥλιου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.

138. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήισαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλέι σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἵον τι χρῆμα ποιήσειε ὁ παῖς καὶ ὡς σὺν νόῳ κείνων ὁ γεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὃ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν

thralls in the king's household, one tending horses and another oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, the lesser flocks. Now the king's wife cooked their food for them; for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the commonalty alone, were lacking in wealth; and whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thrall Perdiccas grew double in bigness. Seeing that this ever happened, she told her husband; and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent, signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thralls and bade them depart out of his territory. They said it was but just that they should have their wages ere they departed; whereupon the king, when they spoke of wages, was moved to foolishness, and said, "That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you," pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke-vent into the house. Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonished when they heard that; but the boy said, "We accept what you give, O king," and with that he took a knife that he had upon him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight¹; which done, he thrice gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment, and went his way with his companions.

138. So they departed; but one of them that sat by declared to the king what this was that the boy had done, and how it was of set purpose that the youngest of them had accepted the gift offered; which when the king heard, he was angered, and sent riders after them to slay them. But there is in that land a river, whereto the descendants from

¹ The action is said to symbolise claiming possession of house and land, and also to call the sun to witness the claim. Ancient Germany, apparently, had a similar custom.

ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' "Αργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτῆρι οὗτος,
ἐπείτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρύνη
ὅστε τοὺς ἵππεας μὴ οἶους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι.
οὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης
οἰκησαν πέλας τῷν κήπων τῷν λεγομένων εἶναι
Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα
ῥόδα, ἐν ἔκαστον ἔχοι ἔξικοντα φύλλα, ὁδῷ τε
ὑπερφέροντα τῷν ἄλλῳ. ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιλη-
νὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἥλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδό-
νων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῷν κήπων ὅρος κέεται Βέρμιον
οὖνομα, ἥβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὄρ-
μώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχοι, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

139. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω¹ Αλέξανδρος
ἥδε ἐγένετο. Ἄμυντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος,
Ἄμυντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν
Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος,
τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

140. Ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
Ἄμυντεω. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθίνας ἀπο-
πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελίη
ἥκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω. Ἀθηναίοισι
τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἔξ ἐκείνων γενομένας
πάσας μετίημι. νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίεε.
τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην
πρὸς ταύτην ἐλέσθων αὐτοί, ἥντινα ἀν ἐθέλωσι,
ἔοντες αὐτόνομοι· ἵρα τε πάντα σφι, ἷν δὴ βού-

¹ This was the fertile and beautiful valley in which stood Aegae or Edessa (modern Vodena), the ancient home of the Macedonian kings.

Argos of these men offer sacrifice, as their deliverer ; this river, when the sons of Temenus had crossed it, rose in such flood that the riders could not cross. So the brothers came to another part of Macedonia and settled near the place called the garden of Midas son of Gordias,¹ wherein roses grow of themselves, each bearing sixty blossoms and of surpassing fragrance ; in which garden, by the Macedonian story, Silenus² was taken captive ; above it rises the mountain called Bermius, which none can ascend for the wintry cold. Thence they issued forth when they had won that country, and presently subdued also the rest of Macedonia.

139. From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son of Amyntas, who was the son of Aleetes ; Aleetes' father was Aeropus, and his was Philippus ; Philippus' father was Argaeus, and his again was Perdiccas, who won that lordship.

140. Such was the lineage of Alexander son of Amyntas ; who, when he came to Athens from Mardonius who had sent him, spoke on this wise. "This, Athenians, is what Mardonius says to you :—There is a message come to me from the king, saying, 'I forgive the Athenians all the offences which they have committed against me ; and now, Mardonius, I bid you do this :—Give them back their territory, and let them choose more for themselves besides, wheresoever they will, and dwell under their own laws ; and rebuild all their temples

² This is a Phrygian tale, transferred to Macedonia. Silenus was a "nature-deity," inhabiting places of rich vegetation : if captured, he was fabled in the Greek version of the myth to give wise counsel to his captor. One may compare the story of Proteus captured by Menelaus, in the *Odyssey*.

HERODOTUS

λωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἔγῳ
 ἐνέπρησα.' τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
 μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἵν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον
 γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε
 πόλεμον βασιλέι ἀειρόμενοι; οὕτε γὰρ ἀν υπερ-
 βάλοισθε οὕτε οἶοι τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα
 χρόνον. εἰδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλα-
 σίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ
 τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἦν
 ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν
 οὐδεμίᾳ ἐλπὶς εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλῃ παρέσται
 πολλαπλησίη. μὴ ὅν βούλεσθε παρισούμενοι
 βασιλέι στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θέειν δὲ αἱεὶ
 περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἄλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει
 δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος
 ταύτη ὄρμημένου. ἐστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχ-
 μίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρ-
 δόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι
 εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἔγῳ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς
 πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἀν
 νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηζώ δὲ ὑμέων
 πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίω. ἐνορῷ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἴοισί
 τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξη·
 εἴ γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας
 ἥθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ
 ἄνθρωπον ἡ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης.
 ἦν ὅν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόν-
 των ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ
 ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμ-
 μάχων πάντων αἱεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούτων, ἐξαί-
 ρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ

that I burnt, if they will make a covenant with me." This being the message, needs must that I obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon you to hinder me. And this I say to you:—Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? you cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him for ever. For the multitude of Xerxes' host, and what they did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me; so that even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and ever be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace; which you can most honourably do, the king being that way inclined: keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty.—This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learnt of that; but I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes for ever; did I see such power in you, I had never come to you with such language as this; for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If therefore you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you, whereon they are ready to agree, are so great, I fear what may befall you; for of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. Nay, follow his counsel;

HERODOTUS

πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασι-
λεὺς γε ὁ μέγας μούροισι ὑμῖν ‘Ελλήνων τὰς
άμαρτάδας ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.”

141. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας
ἐς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους,
ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὡς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι
ἄμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελο-
ποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα
τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι,
αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἄγγέλους. καὶ δὴ
συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατά-
στασιν ἐπαιέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρί-
βοντες, εὗ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι
πεύσεσθαι ἦκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον
ἐπ’ ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος
ἄγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες δὲ ἐποίειν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι
τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἑωսτῶν γνώμην.

142. Ως δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, δια-
δεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι “‘Ημέας
δὲ ἐπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων
μήτε νεώτεροι ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου.
οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε
γε ἄλλοισι Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ
διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα πολλῶν εἴνεκα. ἥγειρατε γὰρ
τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων,
καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἄγων ἐγένετο,
ιῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἄλλως
τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης

for it is not to be lightly regarded by you that you are the only men in Hellas whose offences the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

141. Thus spoke Alexander. But the Lacedaemonians had heard that Alexander was come to Athens to bring the Athenians to an agreement with the foreigner; and remembering the oracles, how that they themselves with the rest of the Dorians must be driven out of the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians, they were greatly afraid lest the Athenians should agree with the Persian, and they straightway resolved that they would send envoys. Moreover it so fell out for both, that they made their entry at one and the same time; for the Athenians delayed, and tarried for them, being well assured that the Lacedaemonians were like to hear that the messenger was come from the Persians for an agreement; and they had heard that the Lacedaemonians would send their envoys with all speed; therefore it was of set purpose that they did it, that they might make their will known to the Lacedaemonians.

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta took up the tale, and said, "We on our part are sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nought hurtful to Hellas and accept no offer from the foreigner. That were a thing unjust and dishonourable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle, wherein all Hellas is now engaged; and setting that apart, it is a thing not to be borne that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought

τοῖσι "Ελλησι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οἵτινες αἱεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζευμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διξῶν ἥδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνου ἥδη πολλόν. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικάς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἔχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἐστ' ἀν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκῃ. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λείνας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐών τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ως βαρβάροισι ἐστὶ οὕτε πιστὸν οὕτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν." ταῦτα ἐλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύταμις ἢ περ ὑμῖν, ὃστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίης γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω ὕκως ἀν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὄμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ὑμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν οὕτε ὑμεῖς πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ως Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἐστ' ἀν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδὸν ἵη τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὄμολογῆσειν ὑμέας Ξέρξῃ ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ὅπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργέειν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν

upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have ever of old been known for givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless we grieve with you in your afflictions, for that now you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted; in requital wherefor the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your households that are unserviceable for war, so long as this war shall last. But let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius' counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a despot so must he be the despot's fellow-worker; but it is not your business, if you be men rightly minded; for you know, that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth." Thus spoke the envoys.

143. But to Alexander the Athenians thus replied: "We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than ours; there is no need to taunt us with that. Nevertheless in our zeal for freedom we will defend ourselves to the best of our ability. But as touching agreements with the foreigner, do not you essay to persuade us thereto, nor will we consent; and now carry this answer back to Mardonius from the Athenians, that as long as the sun holds the course whereby he now goes, we will make no agreement with Xerxes; but we will fight against him without ceasing, trusting in the aid of the gods and the heroes whom he has set at nought and burnt their houses and their adornments. To you we say, come no more to Athenians with such a plea, nor under the semblance of rendering us a service counsel us to do wickedly;

παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἔοντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον.”

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίγαντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμοίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπήιον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδῆσαι, ὅτι οὕτε χρυσός ἐστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὕτε χώρη κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἀν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν μηδ’ ἦν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπερηφησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ήμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὗτις δὲ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιρόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἀν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐστ’ ἀν καὶ εἰς περιῆ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοιτας ήμέας Ξέρξη. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προοϊήν τὴν πρὸς ήμέας ἐοῦσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ήμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ήμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ήμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὄκως ἀν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὡς οὕτω ἔχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. ὡς γὰρ ήμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἔκας χρόνου παρέσται ὁ Βάρβαρος

for we would not that you who are our friend and protector should suffer any harm at Athenian hands."

144. Such was their answer to Alexander; but to the Spartan envoys they said,¹ "It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellency that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false. Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness; yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed; for as we guess, the foreigner

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ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ταχιστα
πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν
ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν δὲ παρεῖναι
ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προ-
βοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὑπο-
κριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

will be upon us and invading our country in no long time, but as soon as ever the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; wherefore, ere he comes into Attica, now is the time for us to march first into Boeotia." At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.

BOOK IX

I

1. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ώς οἱ ἀπογοστίσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμιηνε, ὥρμητες ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκύστοτε γίγοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἥγεομένοισι οὗτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπριγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Ηέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φαινεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ώς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἱέναι ἑκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἴσχυρὸν Ἑλληνας ὄμοφρονέοντας, οἵ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἴραι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· “εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ἔξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἴσχυρὰ βουλεύματα· πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ

BOOK IX

1. Mardonius, when Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens¹; and to whatsoever country he came he took its people along with him. The rulers of Thessaly repented no whit of what they had already done, and were but readier than before to further his march; and Thorax of Larissa, who had aided to give Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, did now without disguise open a passage for Mardonius into Hellas.

2. But when the army in its march was come into Boeotia, the Thebans sought to stay Mardonius, advising him that he could find no country better fitted than theirs for encampment; he should not (they pleaded) go further, but rather halt there and so act as to subdue all Hellas without fighting. For as long as the Greeks who before had been of the same way of thinking remained in accord, it would be a hard matter even for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms; “but if you do as we advise,” said the Thebans as they spoke, “you will without trouble be master of all their counsels of battle. Send money to the men that have power in their cities, and thereby you will divide Hellas against

¹ In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.

τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ρημάτως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεαι.”

3. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνιβούλευον, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλά οἱ δειτὸς ἐνέστακτο ὥμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἐλεῖν, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἀμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέι δηλώσειν ἔοντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθῆνας ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὑρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπινθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τε τῇσι νησίσι, αἴρεει τε ἕρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηγῆν δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄγρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπῆσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ’ ἑωυτῷ.

5. Τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ὃ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἀμειον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τόν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ταῦτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἔινδαγε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δειγὸν ποιησάμενοι οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἐξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περι-

itself; and after that, with your partisans to aid, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries."

3. Such was their counsel, but he would not follow it; rather he was imbued with a wondrous desire to take Athens once more; this was partly of mere perversity, and partly because he thought to signify to the king at Sardis by a line of beacons across the islands that he held Athens. Yet on his coming to Attica he found the Athenians no more there than before, but, as he learnt, the most of them were on shipboard at Salamis; and he took the city, but no men therein. There were ten months between the king's taking of the place and the later invasion of Mardonius.

4. When Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis one Murychides, a man of the Hellespont, bearing the same offer as Alexander the Macedonian had ferried across to the Athenians. He sent this the second time because, albeit he knew already the Athenians' unfriendly purpose, he expected that they would abate their stiff-neckedness now that Attica was the captive of his spear and lay at his mercy.

5. For this reason he sent Murychides to Salamis, who came before the council and told them Mardonius' message. Then Lycidas, one of the councillors, gave it for his opinion that it seemed to him best to receive the offer brought to them by Murychides and lay it before the people. This was the opinion which he declared, either because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or because the plan pleased him; but the Athenians in the council were very wroth, and so too when they heard of it were they that were outside; and they made a ring

στάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυρθάνονται τὸ γυνόμερον αἱ γυναικες τῶν Ἀθηγαίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεων οἰκίην ἥισαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναικα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηγαῖοι ὁδε. ἔως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Ηελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἡξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὃ δὲ ἐπιών καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαιμονά τε ἐπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἄμα μὲν μεμψομέρους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἡντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην, ἄμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηγαίοισι, ώς καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εύρισκονται.

7. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἦν Ἄκινθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἥγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν ἄμα δὲ τὸ τεῦχός σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἥδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ώς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἄμα ἀγόμενοι ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον

round Lycidas and stoned him to death. But they suffered Muryehides the Hellespontian to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learnt what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went of their own motion to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

6. Now this was how the Athenians had passed over to Salamis. As long as they expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their aid, so long they abode in Attica. But when the Peloponnesians were ever longer and slower in action, and the invader was said to be already in Boeotia, they did then convey all their goods out of harm's way and themselves crossed over to Salamis; and they sent envoys to Lacedaemon, who should upbraid the Lacedaemonians for suffering the foreigner to invade Attica and not meeting him in Boeotia with the Athenians to aid; and should bid the Lacedaemonians withal remember what promises the Persian had made to Athens if she would change sides, and warn them that the Athenians would devise some succour for themselves if the Lacedaemonians sent them no help.

7. For the Lacedaemonians were at this time holiday-making, keeping the festival of Hyacinthus,¹ and their chiefest care was to give the god his due; moreover, the wall that they were building on the Isthmus was by now even getting its battlements. When the Athenian envoys were arrived at Lacedaemon, bringing with them envoys from Megara

¹ A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.

τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. “Ἐπεμψαν
 ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ
 Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδίδοι, τοῦτο δὲ
 συμμάχους ἔθέλει ἐπ’ ἵση τε καὶ ὄμων ποιῆσασθαι
 ἦντεν τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἔθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην
 χώρην πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέρην διδόναι, τὴν ἀν αὐτοὶ
 ἐλόμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες
 καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ
 καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ’ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεό-
 μενοι ὑπ’ Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπι-
 στάμενοι τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον ἔστι ὁμολογήειν
 τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμέειν οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ
 ὁμολογήσομεν ἔκοντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ’
 ἡμέων οὗτον ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας.
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ
 ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἔξεμάθετε τὸ
 ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώ-
 σομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ
 τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἔστι, καὶ δὴ
 λόγοι οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέ-
 μενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν
 Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε προεσβα-
 λόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν Βάρβαρον. ἐς μέν τυν
 τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσιν οὐ γὰρ ἐποιή-
 σατε ἐπιτηδέως. τῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατὶην ἀμα
 ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ώς ἀν τὸν Βάρ-
 βαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρ-
 τομεν τῆς Βοιωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον
 ἔστι μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον.”

8. ‘Ως δὲ ἄρα ἥκουσαν οἱ ἐφόροι ταῦτα, ἀνε-
 βάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ

and Plataeae, they came before the ephors and said : “The Athenians have sent us with this message : The king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honour and honesty, and to give us withal whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused, and this though the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt, and though we know that it is rather for our advantage to make terms with the Persian than to wage war with him : yet we will not make terms with him, of our own free will. Thus for our part we act honestly by the Greeks : but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian ? Because now you have clear knowledge of our temper and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and because the wall that you are building across the Isthmus is well-nigh finished, to-day you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us for all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have suffered the foreigner to march into Attica. For the nonce, then, the Athenians are angry with you : for that which you have done beseems you ill. But now they pray you to send with us an army with all speed, that we may await the foreigner’s onset in Attica : for since we have lost Boeotia, in our own land the fittest battle-ground is the Thriasian plain.”

8. When the ephors, it would seem, heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again

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ίστεραι γένεται τὴν ἑτέρην τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα οἷμέρας ἐποίειν, ἐξ οἵμέρης γένεται ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Ήελοπονιήσιοι, καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξανδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος γένεται Ἀθῆνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίᾳν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτείχιστο καὶ ἐδύκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν. ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο γένεται τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὕκω ἀπετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραιῇ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἐσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγείτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαιμονι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε. “Οὕτω γένεται, ἄνδρες ἐφοροι· Ἀθηναίων οἵμην ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται γένεται τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἄλλ’ ἐσακούσατε, πρίν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.”

10. “Ο μέν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἵ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἐπτὰ περὶ ἔκαστον τάξαντες

till the day after ; and this they did for ten days, putting off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with might and main, and they had the work well-nigh done. Nor can I say why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens¹ the Lacedaemonians were urgent that the Athenians should not take the Persian part, yet now made no account of that ; except it was that now they had the Isthmus fortified and thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica their wall was not yet built, and they were working thereat in great fear of the Persians.

9. But the manner of their answering at last and sending the Spartan army was this : On the day before that hearing which should have been the last, Chileiis, a man of Tegea, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learnt from the ephors all that the Athenians had said ; and having heard it he said, as the tale goes, to the ephors, "Sirs, this is how the matter stands : if the Athenians be our enemies and the foreigner's allies, then though you drive a strong wall across the Isthmus the Persian has an effectual door opened for passage into the Peloponnese. Nay, hearken to them, ere the Athenians take some new resolve that will bring calamity to Hellas."

10. This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart ; saying no word to the envoys who were come from the cities, they bade march before dawn of day five thousand Spartans, with seven helots appointed to attend each of them ;

¹ *cp. viii. 135.*

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τῶν είλιθων, Παυσανίη τῷ Κλεομβρότον ἐπιτάξιντες ἔξαγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἥγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατήρ Ἀγαξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ ἔωντῷ Παυσανίης Εὐρυανάκτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἔόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίῃ ἔξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἔξουδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφύρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔωντοῦ ἔκαστος ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε. “Τμεῖς μὲν, δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῆδε μένοντες Τακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Λθηραῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χίτεϊ τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Ηέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστριπτευσόμεθα ἐπ' ἦν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἔξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὄκοιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν ἔξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνη.” ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ορεσθείῳ στείχοντας ἐπὶ

¹ His cousin; Euryanax was son of Dorieus, who was a brother of Pausanias' father Cleombrotus.

and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. The leader's place belonged of right to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas; but he was yet a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus, Pausanias' father and Anaxandrides' son, was no longer living; after he led away from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall, he lived but a little while ere his death. The reason of Cleombrotus' leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family,¹ Euryanax son of Dorieus.

11. So Pausanias' army had marched away from Sparta; but as soon as it was day, the envoys came before the ephors, having no knowledge of the expedition, and being minded themselves too to depart each one to his own place; and when they were come, "You Lacedaemonians," they said, "abide still where you are, keeping your Hyacinthia and disporting yourselves, leaving your allies deserted: the Athenians, for the wrong that you do them and for lack of allies, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can, and thereafter, seeing that plainly we shall be the king's allies, we will march with him against whatever land his men lead us. Then will you learn what the issue of this matter shall be for you." Thus spoke the envoys; and the ephors swore to them that they believed their army to be even now at Orestheum,² marching

² Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.

τοὺς ξείνους. Ξείρους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἵ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἔξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἔόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύορτο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῷν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὑπλῖται τὸντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

12. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἡπείγοντο· Ἀργεοῦ δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἔξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κύρυκα τῷν ἡμεροδρόμῳν ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότεροι αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχῆσειν τὸν Σπαρτιέτην μὴ ἔξιέναι· ὃς ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τάδε. “Μαρδόνιε, ἐπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος ἔξελιγλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυρατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἔξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος.”

13. Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὅπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ σὺδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἵκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν νυν ἡ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῦν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὕτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων ἐὶ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπριήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὄρθον ἦν τῷν τειχέων ἢ τῷν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῷν ἴρων, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. ἔξήλαυνε

¹ Inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, not enjoying the full privileges of Spartans.

against the “strangers,” as they called the foreigners. Having no knowledge of this, the envoys questioned them further as to what the tale might mean, and thereby learnt the whole truth ; whereat they marvelled, and took the road with all speed after the army ; and with them went likewise five thousand chosen men-at-arms of the Lacedaemonian country-men.¹

12. So they made haste to reach the Isthmus. But the Argives had already promised Mardonius that they would hinder the Spartan from going out to war ; and as soon as they were informed that Pausanias and his army had departed from Sparta, they sent as their herald to Attica the swiftest runner of long distances that they could find ; who, when he came to Athens, spoke on this wise to Mardonius : “I am sent by the Argives to tell you that the young men have gone out from Lacedaemon to war, and that the Argives cannot stay them from so doing ; wherefore, may fortune grant you good counsel.”

13. So spoke the herald, and departed back again ; and when Mardonius heard that, he was no longer desirous of remaining in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his hand, desiring to know the Athenians’ plan and what they would do, and neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still ever supposed that they would make terms with him ; but when he could not move them, and learnt all the truth of the matter, he drew off from before Pausanias’ army ere it entered the Isthmus ; but first he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. The reason of his

δὲ τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅτι οὕτε ἵππασιμη ἡ χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττική, εἴ τε νικῆτο συμβαλών, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε δλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβούλευετο διν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλίη καὶ χώρη ἵππασιμῳ.

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἥδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἔοιτι αὐτῷ ἥλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβούλευετο θέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἥγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἕκαστάτῳ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἥλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὗτοι δὴ ὅπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἥγεοντο ἐς Σφειδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐγανδισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνη ὄκοιόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων

marching away was, that Attica was no country for horsemen's work, and if he should be worsted in a battle there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could stay his passage.¹ Wherefore it was his plan to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground fitted for horsemen.

14. So Mardonius drew his men off, and when he had now set forth on his road there came a message that over and above the rest an advance guard of a thousand Lacedaemonians was arrived at Megara; at which hearing he took counsel how he might first make an end of these; and he turned about and led his army against Megara, his horse going first and overrunning the lands of that city. That was the most westerly place in Europe to which this Persian armament attained.

15. Presently there came a message to Mardonius that the Greeks were gathered together on the Isthmus. Thereupon he marched back again through Decelea; for the rulers of Boeotia sent for those of the Asopus country that dwelt near, and these guided him to Sphendalae and thence to Tanagra, where he camped for the night: and on the next day he turned thence to Seolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he laid waste the lands of the Thebans, though they took the Persian part; not for any ill-will that he bore them, but because sheer necessity drove him to make a strong place for his army, and to have this for a refuge if the fortune of battle were other than he desired. His army covered the ground from Erythrae past

¹ He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeron.

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παρὰ Τσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Ηλαταιίδα γῆν,
παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένου. οὐ
μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κη μέτωπον ἔκαστον.

16. Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόρον τοῦτον τὸν βαρ-
βάρων, Ἀτταγῆνος ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος
παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια
αὐτὸν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Πέρσεων
τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἶποντο·
ἢν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τάδε
δὲ ἢδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἵκουν Θερσάνδρου ἄνδρος
μὲν Ὁρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρώτα ἐν
Ὁρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ
αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κλη-
θῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ
σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλῖναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην
τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστῃ. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ
δείπνου ἥσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμό-
κλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἴέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν
όποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη
Ὁρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “Ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτρά-
πεξός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά
τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ
προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχῃς
τὰ συμφέροντα. ορᾶς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους
Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ
ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύμενοι· τούτων πάντων
ὅψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους
τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους.” ταῦτα ἅμα τε τὸν
Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τὸν δακρύων.
αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν
“Οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν

Hysiae and reached unto the lands of Plataeae, where it lay ranked by the Asopus river. I say not that the walled camp which he made was so great; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs.

16. While the foreigners were employed about this work, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparation and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was given at Thebes. Now here follows the end of that matter, which was told me by Thersandrus of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersandrus too (he said) was bidden to this dinner, and fifty Thebans besides; and Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself, but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now after dinner while they drank one with another, the Persian that sat with him asked Thersandrus in the Greek tongue of what country he was; and Thersandrus answered that he was of Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since now you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me thereafter, I would fain leave some record of my thought, that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. See you these Persians at the banquet, and that host which we left encamped by the river side? of all these in a little while you shall see but a little remnant left alive"; and as he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at this saying, Thersandrus answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius

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καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν αὐγῇ ἐοῦσι Περσέων;”
τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “Ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι
ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμύχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδὲ
γάρ πιστὰ λέγοντι ἀθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδεῖς.
ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχροὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα
ἀγαγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἔχθίστη δὲ ὁ δύνη ἐστὶ τῶν
ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὐτῇ, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μῆδενὸς
κρατέειν.” ταῦτα μὲν Ὁρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου
ἴκονον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ως αὐτὸς αὐτίκα
λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἡ γενέσθαι
ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

17. Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐγ τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευο-
μένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἀπαρτεῖστα στρατιὴν
καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθῆνας, ὅσοι περ ἐμίδιζον
Ἐλλήνων τῶν ταύτη εἰκημένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες
οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμίδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ
οὗτοι) οὐκ ἔκοντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀγαγκαίης. ήμέρηστι
δὲ οὐ πολλῆσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας
ὑστερον ἥλθον αὐτῶν ὄπλιται χίλιοι, ἥγε δὲ
αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος.
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ
Μαρδόνιος ἵππεας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἔωντῶν ἐν
τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα,
αὐτίκα παρῆν ὕππος ἡ ἄπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ
τοῦ μετὰ Λίδων ἐόντος φήμη ως κατακοντιεῖ
σφεας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τώντο
τοῦτο. ἔνθα δή σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης
παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε. “Ω Φωκέες, πρόδηλα
γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἀνθρωποι μέλλουσι προ-
όπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσ-
σαλῶν, ως ἔγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ

and those honourable Persians that are with him?" "Sir," said the Persian, "that which heaven wills to send no man can turn aside; for even truth finds none to believe it. What I have said is known to many of us Persians; but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. And it is the hatefulest of all human sorrows to have much knowledge and no power." This tale I heard from Thersapdrus of Orchomenus; who said to me, moreover, that he had straightway told it to others before the fight of Plataeae.

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia; all the Greeks of that region who took the Persian part furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, except only the Phocians: as to taking the Persian part, that they did in good sooth, albeit not willingly but of necessity. But when a few days were past after the Persians' coming to Thebes, there came a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, led by Harmocydæs, the most notable of their countrymen. These also being arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. When they had so done, straightway appeared the whole of the Persian cavalry; and presently it was bruited about through all the Greek army that was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death. Then their general Harmocydæs exhorted them: "Men of Phœcia," he said, "seeing it is plain that death at these fellows' hands stares us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians); now it is meet for

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νύμεων χρεογ ἔστι γενεσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἡ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆται αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῷν ὅτι ἔόντες Βάρβαροι ἐπ' "Ελλησι ἄνδρασι φόγον ἔρραψαν."

18. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἵππεες ἐπεὶ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπίγλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετέίνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπίστοτες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ἀς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὅπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἥλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὅπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐγετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὗτ' εὶ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἥθελησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ διπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἵπποται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κίρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Θαρσέετε ὁ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἔόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπινθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτ' ὃν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἥλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδαιε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιῆτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίενν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὃν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιεργεῖσαντων

every one of you to play the man ; for it is better to end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to suffer a shameful death. Nay, but we will teach them that they whose slaying they have devised are men of Hellas." Thus he exhorted them.

18. But when the horsemen had encircled the Phocians they rode at them as it were to slay them, and drew their bows to shoot, and 'tis like that some did even shoot. The Phocians fronted them every way, drawing in together and closing their ranks to the best of their power ; whereat the horsemen wheeled about and rode back and away. Now I cannot with exactness say if they came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians, but, when they saw the men preparing to defend themselves, feared lest they themselves should suffer some hurt, and so rode away back (for such was Mardonius' command),—or if Mardonius desired to test the Phocians' mettle. But when the horsemen had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this message : " Men of Phocis, be of good courage ; for you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and not as it was reported to me. And now push this war zealously forward ; for you will outdo neither myself nor the king in the rendering of service."¹ Thus far went the Phocian business.

19. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they were come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth to war, they deemed it was not for them to be behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. Wherefore they all marched from the Isthmus (the omens of

¹ That is, serve us and we will serve you.

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τῶν ἵρων ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐιθαῦτα ἵρα, ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρότω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἄμα αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνῃ. ὃς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκορτο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθρήνα, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς Βαριβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φραιζόντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

20. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἑλλῆνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἵππάρχες Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ηέρ-σησι, τὸν Ἑλλῆνες Μακίστιον καλέουνται, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χριστοχάλιον καὶ ἄλλως κεκο-σμημένον καλῶς. ἐιθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἵππόται πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλῆνας, προσβάλλοντες κατὰ τέλσα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναικας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον τα-
χθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου
παντός, καὶ πρύσοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ
ἵππῳ. προσβάλλούσης δὲ τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγα-
ρέες πιεζόμενοι ἐπειπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιγοὺς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων κύρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. “Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς,
ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί είμεν τίνι Περσέων
ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην
ἐς τὴν ἐστημένην ἀρχήν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίη
τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν
τε εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς
τάξιος, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοιτας τὴν τάξιν.” ὁ
μὲν δὴ σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀπε-

sacrifice being favourable) and came to Eleusis ; and when they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favourable, they held on their march further, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learnt that the foreigners were encamped by the Asopus, and taking note of that they arrayed themselves over against the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

20. The Greeks not coming down into the plain, Mardonius sent against them all his horse, whose commander was Masistius (whom the Greeks call Maeistius), a man much honoured among the Persians ; he rode a Nesaean horse that had a golden bit and was at all points gaily adorned. Thereupon the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and charged them by squadrons, doing them much hurt thereby and calling them women.

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was openest to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and thus spoke : "From the men of Megara to their allies : We cannot alone withstand the Persian horse (albeit we have till now held our ground with patience and valour, though hard pressed) in this post whereunto we were first appointed ; and now be well assured that we will leave our post, except you send others to take our place therein." Thus the herald reported, and

πειράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθέλοιται ίέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὄλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

22. Οὗτοι ήσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξύτας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούστης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἵσταται τε ὁρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ μαθὼν τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὄφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελίθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππέας· οὕτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὕτε ἀποθινῆσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὡς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἥλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὡς ἀν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

23. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἵππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν

Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer themselves to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. None other would go; but the Athenians took it upon themselves, even three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon.

22. These were they who took it upon themselves, and were posted at Erythrae in advance of the whole Greek army; and they took with them the archers also. For a long time they fought; and the end of the battle was as I shall show. The horsemen charged by squadrons; and Masistius' horse, being at the head of the rest, was smitten in the side by an arrow, and rearing up in its pain it threw Masistius; who when he fell was straightway set upon by the Athenians. His horse they took then and there, and he himself was slain fighting, though at first they could not kill him; for the fashion of his armour was such, that he wore a purple tunic over a cuirass of golden scales that was within it; and it was all in vain that they smote at the cuirass, till someone saw what they did and stabbed him in the eye, so that he fell dead. But as chance would have it the rest of the horsemen knew nought of this; for they had not seen him fall from his horse, or die; and they wheeled about and rode back without perceiving what was done. But as soon as they halted they saw what they lacked, since there was none to order them; and when they perceived what had chanced, they gave each other the word, and all rode together to recover the dead body.

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together,

ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβόσαιτο. ἐν τῷ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἄπας ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχη ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μέν τυν μοῦνοι ἥσαν οἱ τριγκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὡς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἵπποται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἵππεων. ἀποστήσαντες δὲ ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβούλευοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν ἐδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἄπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἡχὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσησι καὶ βασιλέι.

25. Οἱ μέν τυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ὡς τὴν ἵππου ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, έθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἄμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἴνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἴνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίευν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἐδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεύτερος σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐνδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ

they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their foot was rallying to aid, there waxed a sharp fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were nigh leaving the dead man; but when the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen that could no longer hold their ground, nor avail to recover the dead man, but they lost others of their comrades too besides Masistius. They drew off therefore and halted about two furlongs off, where they consulted what they should do; and resolved, as there was none to lead them, to ride away to Mardonius.

24. When the cavalry returned to the camp, Mardonius and all the army made very great mourning for Masistius, cutting their own hair and the hair of their horses and beasts of burden, and lamenting loud and long; for the sound of it was heard over all Boeotia, inasmuch as a man was dead who was next to Mardonius most esteemed by all Persia and the king.

25. So the foreigners honoured Masistius' death after their manner; but the Greeks were much heartened by their withstanding and repelling of the horsemen. And first they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks; and the body was worth the viewing, for stature and goodliness; wherefore they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataeae; for they saw that the ground there was in all ways fitter by much for encampment than at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. To this place, and to the Gargaphian spring that was there,

ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἥισαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Τσιὰς ἐς τὴν Ηλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίου τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ ὃχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

26. Ἐρθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξῃ ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὡθισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίενι γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἕκατεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρας, καὶ κανὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. “Ημεῖς αἱεὶ κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσαι ἦδη ἔξοδοι κοινὰ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάρατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον· τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ιώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἴζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιοῦσι, τότε ὃν λόγος” Τλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι ως χρεὸν εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἄν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτον οἱ μουνομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὄρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἦν μὲν “Τλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἥγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἦν δὲ νικηθῆ, τὰ

they resolved that they must betake themselves and encamp in their several battalions; and they took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataeae, and when they were there they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

26. There, in the ordering of their battle, arose much dispute between the Tegeans and the Athenians: for each of them claimed that they should hold the second¹ wing of the army, justifying themselves by tales of deeds new and old. First said the Tegeans: "Of all the allies we have ever had the right to hold this post, in all campaigns ancient and late of the united Peloponnesian armies, ever since that time when the Heraclidae after Eurystheus' death essayed to return into the Peloponnesus; that right we then gained, for the achievement which we will relate. When we mustered at the Isthmus for war, along with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnesus, and encamped over against the returning exiles, then (it is said) Hyllus² proclaimed his counsel that army should not be risked against army in battle, but that that champion in the host of the Peloponnesians whom they chose for their best should fight with him in single combat on agreed conditions. The Peloponnesians resolving that this should be so, they swore a compact that if Hyllus should vanquish the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidae should return to the land of their fathers, but if he were himself vanquished, then

¹ That is, the wing which was not held by the Lacedaemonians themselves.

² Son of Heracles.

ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἑτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προσκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἔθελοντής "Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε "Τάλοι. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εύρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισί γε τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἑτέρου αἱὲν ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γνομένης. ὑμῖν μέν νυν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἄλλὰ διδόντες αἴρεσιν ὁκοτέρου θούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ικνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατά περ ἐν τῷ πρύσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροι εἰμὲν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄγρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω δὲ δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἷς περ ἡμῖν κατέργασμένα, οὕτω δὲ καὶ νὰ οὔτε παλαιά.

27. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τίνδε μάχης εἶνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγείτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καιτὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώιον ἐστὶ ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἱὲν πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο

contrariwise the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, and not seek to return to the Peloponnesian till a hundred years were past. Then our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son Eeropus, offered himself and was chosen out of all the allied host; and he fought that duel and slew Hyllus. For that feat of arms the Peloponnesians of that day granted us this also among other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, that in all united campaigns we should ever lead the army's second wing. Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you will; but this we say, that our p'ace is at the head of the other, as ever aforetime. And setting aside that feat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post; for many are the fields on which we have fought with happy event in regard to you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is just, therefore, that we and not the Athenians should hold the second wing; for never early or late have they achieved such feats of arms as we."

27. Thus they spoke; and thus the Athenians replied: "It is our belief that we are here gathered in concourse for battle with the foreigner, and not for discourses; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, needs must that we prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have in virtue of our valour an hereditary right to the place of honour. These Tegeans say that they slew the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus; now when those same Hera-

μὲν τούτους, πρότερον ἔξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων
 Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην
 πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐ-
 ρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχῃ
 τικῆσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον.
 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ
 Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ
 ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς
 Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμὲν καὶ
 θύψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν
 ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερ-
 μώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν
 Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν
 ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων
 ἐπιμεμιῆσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἀν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔοντες
 ὥντοὶ νῦν ἀν εἴεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἔοντες
 φλαῦροι νῦν ἀν εἴεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν νῦν
 ἔργων ἄλις ἔστω. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ
 ἀποδεδεγμένου, ὅσπερ ἔστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ
 ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι είμεν τοῦτο τὸ
 γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι
 Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχῆσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ
 ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ
 ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἔξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἀρ̄
 οὐ δίκαιοι είμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ
 τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
 τοιῷδε τάξιος εἶνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι
 είμεν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει
 ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἔσταγαι καὶ κατ'
 οὔστινας πάντη γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα

clidae had till then been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Myceenaeans, we and none other received them¹; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnes, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices² against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis; and we have on record our great victory against the Amazons who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica; and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is idle to recall these matters—for they that were erstwhile valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and they that lacked mettle then may be better men now—enough of these doings of old time; and we, if we are known for no achievement (as we are, for more and greater than are any men in Hellas), yet from ourfeat of arms at Marathon we deserve to have this honour, yea, and more beside; seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian single-handed, nor failed in that high enterprise, but overcame six and forty nations. Is it not our right to hold this post, for nought but that onefeat? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon! and take whatso place and face whatso enemy you deem most fitting; wheresoever you set us, we will strive to be valiant

¹ Hyllus, pursued by his enemy Eurystheus, took refuge with the Athenians, and with their aid defeated and killed Eurystheus and his sons.

² When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus' "Seven against Thebes."

εῖναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἄπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἥ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὁδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἔοντας Σπαρτίτας ἐφύλασσον ψύλοι τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἔκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἴλοντο ἐστάγαι οἱ Σπαρτῖται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εὗνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὅπλιται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εῦροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω ἐστάγαι Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλαγῆς τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἐξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐστησαν Ἐρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἐρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἐξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἐστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλ-

men. Command us then, as knowing that we will obey." Thus the Athenians answered; and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place.

28. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I shall show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Laeckaemonians: five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbours in the battle, both to do them honour, and for their valour; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias suffered the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these a thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them a thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Ercitians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from

ληρίος αγκοστοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λίγυνηέων πεντακοσιοι ἐπαχθῆσαν, παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐπασσόντο Μεραρχῷ τρισχλῖοι, εἰχούτο δὲ τούτοις Πλαταιές ἔξακόδιοι, τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρωτοὶ Λαθραῖοι ἐπασσόντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ ἄνθρυμον, ὀκτακοσιχλῖοι ἐστρατήγες δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστεῖονς ὁ Λυστιμάχον.

29. Οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἑκαστοῦ τεταγμονος Σπαρτιηγοῖς, οἵαν ὅπλιται, σύμπαντες ἔστε ἀριθμὸν τρεις τε μυριάσεις καὶ ὅτιώ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἐπτα. ὅπλιται μὲν οἱ παιτίς συλλεγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν βαρβαρὸν ἥσαν τοσοῦτον, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦρ τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς ταξιος πεντακοσιχλῖοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄγροις, ὡς ἕντων ἐπτὰ περὶ ἑκαστοῦ ἄγρα, καὶ τοιτῷ πᾶσι τις παρηρητητοί ὡς ἐς πόλεμον οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λασσαπονιών καὶ Ἐλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς ἐς περὶ ἑκαστοῦ ἐπομάρδα, πεντακοσιοι καὶ τετρακοσιχλῖοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἥσαν.

30. Ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπαντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦρ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξ τε μυριάσεις καὶ ἔντια χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πάντα, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σὺν τε ὅπλιτησι καὶ ψιλοῖς τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἵδεκα μυριάσεις ἥσαν, μῆς χιλιάδες, πρὸς εἰς ὀκτακοσιῶν ἄγρον κατασκονται. σύν δὲ θεοπίστων τοῖσι παρεῖησι ἔξτηληροῦντο αἱ ἵδεκα μυριάδες παρῆσαν γάρ καὶ θεοπίστων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόρτες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὅπλα δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν πεντακοσίες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπε-

Pale in Cephallenia; after them in the array, five hundred Aeginetans; by them stood three thousand men of Megara, and next to these six hundred Plataeans. At the end, and first in the line, were the Athenians, on the left wing, eight thousand men; their general was Aristides son of Lysimachus.

29. All these, save the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that mustered for war against the foreigner; as regarding the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war; the light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred.

30. So the sum of all the light-armed men that were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataeae, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand, lacking eighteen hundred. But the Thespians who were there present made up the full tale of an hundred and ten thousand; for the survivors¹ of the Thespians were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed, and encamped by the Asopus

31. When Mardonius' foreigners had finished their

¹ That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.

κήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τὸν
 "Ελληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῆσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ρέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ
 ἀντετάσσοντο ὡδεῖς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Ηέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν
 γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθεϊ οἱ Ηέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις
 πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον τὸν Τεγείτας.
 ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον
 πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ
 δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τὸν Τεγείτας.
 ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων
 Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε Μῆδους·
 οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιίτας
 καὶ Ὁρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μῆδων δὲ
 ἔχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον
 Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας
 τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλει-
 ασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι
 δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετρίεας καὶ
 Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἔχομένους
 Σάκας ἔταξε, οἵ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ
 Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ
 Λίγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία
 Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων
 Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ
 Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τὸν χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὅν
 ἄπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμίδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν
 καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων ηὗξον περὶ τὸν Παριησὸν
 κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὄρμώμενοι ἐφερόν τε
 καὶ ἥγον τῇν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τὸν
 μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔοντας Ἐλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-

mourning for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataeae, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians; and seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran fronting the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes, fronting the men of Corinth and Potidaea and Orchomenus and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, fronting the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. After the Bactrians he set the Indians, fronting the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, fronting the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and over against the Athenians and Plataeans and Megarians, the Boeotians and Loerians and Malians and Thessalians and the thousand that came from Phocis; for not all the Phocians took the Persian part, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been beleaguered on Parnassus, and issued out from thence to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks that were with him. Besides these,

δόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους
κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἔθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὡνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τά περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἴθιόπων τε καὶ Λίγυνπτίων οἵ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἵ περ εἰσὶ Λίγυνπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἔόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἄμα Ξέρξη ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Λίγυνπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ Βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ώς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὁν ἡριθμήθησαν· ώς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ή δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

33. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαύτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔθνοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἐλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἴπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἔόντα Ἡλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὃ μὲν δὴ

¹ The Egyptian military classes mentioned in Bk. II. 164.

² The Iamidae were a priestly family, the members of

he arrayed against the Athenians Macedonians also and the dwellers about Thessaly.

32. These that I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius that were of most note and account; but there was also in the army a mixed multitude of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries,¹ who are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the foreigners, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown; as for the Greek allies of Mardonius, none knows the number of them, for they were not counted; but as far as guessing may serve, I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33. When they had all been arrayed in their nations and their battalions, on the second day thereafter both armies offered sacrifice. For the Greeks, Tisamenus it was that sacrificed; for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan,² and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. For when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning issue, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not under-

which were found in all parts of Hellas. The Clytiadæ were also Elean priests, but quite separate from the Iamidae; so Stein is probably right in bracketing Κλυτιάδαι.

άμαρτών τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι
ώς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἄγρας, ἀσκέων δὲ
πεντάεθλοι παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε τικάν
Ολυμπιάδα, Ιερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀιδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν.
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ᾽
ἐς ἀργίους ἄγρας φέρεν τὸ Τισαμεροῦ μαντήιον,
μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πέσαντες Τισαμερὸν ποιέονται
ἄμα Πρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν
πολέμων. ὃ δὲ ὄρεων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους
Σπαρτιῆτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαζῶν
τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι ως ἦν μιν πολυήτηρ
σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες,
ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὕ. Σπαρτιῆται
δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δειπνὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ
μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ
δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ
τούτου στρατεύματος καταίμεον μετιώντες. ὃ δὲ
γνοὺς τετραμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὔτω ἔτι ἔφη
ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούροισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν
ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ηγέην γίνεται Σπαρτιῆτην
ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

34. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποαι,
ώς εἰκάσαι βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην αἴτεομέ-
νους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῷν ἐν Ἀργεί
γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὡς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο
ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναικας τῆς
τούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληίης τὸ
ῆμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῷν Ἀργείων ἀλλ'
ἀπιόντων, ώς ἐμαίγοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν,

¹ The five events of the Pentathlum were running, jumping, wrestling, and throwing of the spear and the discus.

standing that oracle, he betook himself to bodily exercises, thinking so to win in such-like sports; and having trained himself for the Five Contests,¹ he came within one wrestling bout of winning the Olympic prize, in a match with Hieronymus of Andros. But the Laecdaemonians perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenus spake of the lists not of sport but of war; and they essayed to bribe Tisamenus to be a leader in their wars, jointly with their kings of Heracles' line. But when he saw that the Spartans set great store by his friendship, with this knowledge he set his price higher, and made it known to them that for no reward would he do their will save for the gift of full citizenship and all a citizen's rights. Hearing that, the Spartans at first were angry and ceased wholly from their request; but when the dreadful menace of this Persian host overhung them they consented and granted his demand. But when he saw their purpose changed, he said that not even so and with that only would he be content; his brother Hegias too must be made a Spartan on the same terms as himself.

34. By so saying he imitated Melampus, in so far as one may compare demands for kingship and for citizenship. For when the women of Argos had gone mad, and the Argives would fain hire him to come from Pylos and heal them of that madness,² Melampus demanded half of their kingship for his wages; which the Argives could not suffer, and so departed; but when the madness spread among their women,

² According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.

οῦτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο
ἥισαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπο-
ρέγεται ὄρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάσ, ἵν μὴ
καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον
τῆς βασιληής, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ
Αργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταιψέουσι καὶ
ταῦτα.

35. "Ως δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἔδεοντο γὰρ δεινῶς
τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεον οἱ. συγχωρη-
σάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ
πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους
Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἡλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιῆτης,
συγκαταιρέει. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιῆται πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ
πέντε ἀγῶνες οἵδε ἐγένοντο, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος
οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς
Τεγείτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ
ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν
Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ιθώμη,
ἄστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε
καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ἄστατος
κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36. Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι "Ελλησι ὁ Τισαμενός,
ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ
Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μέν νυν "Ελλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο
τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν
καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὐ.

37. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν
οὐκ ἐπιτίδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ
τούτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἐλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι
ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἄλειόν

thereat they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he asked yet more, and said that he would not do their will except they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; and the Argives, driven thus into a strait, consented to that also.

35. Thus the Spartans too were so eagerly desirous of winning Tisamenus that they granted all his demand. When they had granted him this also, then did Tisamenus of Elis, now become a Spartan, ply his divination for them and aid them to win five very great victories. None on earth save Tisamenus and his brother ever became citizens of Sparta. Now the five victories were these: one, the first, this victory at Plataeae; next that which was won at Tegea over the Tegeans and Argives; after that, over all the Arcadians save the Mantineans at Dipaea; next, over the Messenians at Ithome; lastly, the victory at Tanagra over the Athenians and Argives, which was the last won of the five victories.¹

36. This Tisamenus had now been brought by the Spartans and was the diviner of the Greeks in the lands of Plataeae. Now the sacrifices boded good to the Greeks if they should but defend themselves, but evil if they should cross the Asopus and be the first to attack.

37. But Mardonius' sacrifices also boded nought to his liking if he should be zealous to attack first, and good if he should but defend himself; for he too used the Greek manner of sacrifice; Hegesistratus

¹ The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 457 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaea.

τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἔόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ώς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἔχόμενος, ὅστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς Φυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζοι λόγου. ώς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος καὶ σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο ἀνδριηύτατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἀσθενεῖς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ώς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν υὔκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ώς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διξημένων τρίτη εὐφρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὄρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεῦνον οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὑγιὴς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἴθέης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἐς γε τέλος οἱ συνήρεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἥλω γὰρ μαρτευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

38. Ὁ μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὑστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ

of Elis was his diviner, the most notable of the sons of Tellias. This man had been put in prison and doomed to die by the Spartans for the much harm that he had done them. Being in this evil case, inasmuch as he was in peril of his life and like to be very grievously maltreated ere his death, he did a deed well nigh past believing: being made fast in iron-bound stocks, he got an iron weapon that was brought in some wise into his prison, and straightway conceived a plan of such hardihood as we have never known; reckoning how best the rest of it might get free, he cut off his own foot at the instep. This done, he burrowed through the wall out of the way of the guards that kept ward over him, and so escaped to Tegea; all night he journeyed and all day he hid and lay close in the woods, till on the third night he came to Tegea, while all the people of Lacedaemon sought him; and they were greatly amazed, seeing the half of his foot cut off and lying there, but not being able to find the man himself. Thus did he then escape from the Lacedaemonians and take refuge in Tegea, which at that time was unfriendly to Lacedaemon; and after he was healed and had made himself a foot of wood, he declared himself an open enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Yet the enmity that he bore them brought him no good at the last; for they caught him at his divinations in Zacynthus, and slew him.

38. Howbeit, the death of Hegesistratus happened after the Plataean business; at the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and wrought zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians,

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κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὕτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσησι οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἰχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μάντιν Ἰππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄγδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ "Ἐρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ "Ἑλληνες αἱεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς.

39. Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἥδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκείνοις συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὃ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἱ ἐπὶ Ηλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἵπποται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγια τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἴποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόρευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδειὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἰχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἥλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἱεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς "Ἑλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἦτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλε-

and for gain. But when no favourable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks that were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks the while were ever flocking in and their army grew, TImagenides son of Herpys, a Theban, counselled Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were ever flocking in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

39. The armies had now lain over against each other for eight days when he gave this counsel. Mardonius perceived that the advice was good ; and when night had fallen he sent his horsemen to the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron that leads towards Plataeae, which pass the Boeotians call the Three Heads, and the Athenians the Oaks' Heads. This despatch of the horsemen was no fruitless one ; for they caught five hundred beasts of burden issuing into the low country, bringing provision from the Peloponnese for the army, and men that came with the waggons ; having taken which quarry the Persians slew without mercy, sparing neither man nor beast. When they had their fill of slaughter, they set what remained in their midst and drove them to Mardonius and his camp.

40. After this deed they waited two days more, neither side desiring to begin the battle ; for though the foreigners came to the Asopus to make trial of the Greeks' purpose, neither army crossed it. Howbeit Mardonius' horse was ever besetting and troubling the Greeks ; for the Thebans, in their zeal for the Persian part, waged war heartily, and

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μον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Ήρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οὐ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

41. Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίρετο τούτων ὡς δὲ ἑιδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἵ τε δὴ "Ελληνες πολλῷ πλεῦντες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτες τῇ ἔδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἥλθον Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρίνεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαργάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνήρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. Βουλευομένοι δὲ αἰδεῖσαν αἱ γυναικαὶ, ἣ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἵεναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἐνθα σῖτον τέ σφι ἐσενηρεῦχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χύρτον τοῖσι ὑποξυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους διαπρῆσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας, Ἐλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδόσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην· μηδὲ ἀνακινηνεύειν συμβάλλοιτας. τούτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γυναικὶ, ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἴσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγμιωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσοντα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦντας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησισ-

were ever guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valour.

41. Until the ten days were past no more was done than this; but on the eleventh day from their first encampment over against each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being sore vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as but few others in Xerxes' esteem; and their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus held it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes, where they had much provision stored and fodder for their beasts of burden, and where they could sit at their ease and despatch the business by taking the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver and drinking-cups, and sending all this without stint to all places in Hellas, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas: let them do this (said he) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but let not the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans', inasmuch as he too had especial foreknowledge; but Mardonius' counsel was more vehement and intemperate and nowise leaning to moderation; for (said he) he deemed that their army was by much stronger than the Greeks', and that they should give battle with all speed, and not suffer yet more Greeks to muster than were mustered already; as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor

τράτου ἔân χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Ηερσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

42. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὅν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔοιταν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ή̄ ἴστε οὐδὲν ή̄ οὐ τολμάτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εῦ ἐπιστάμενος. ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἔστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἴρον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ήμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἵμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἴρον τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἴνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἔοντες Πέρσησι, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἴνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.” ταῦτά σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἄμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οίδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ'

¹ Lit. to do violence, compel the gods, like “superos votis fatigare” in Latin.

seek to wring good from them,¹ but rather give battle after Persian custom.

42. None withheld this argument, so that his opinion prevailed; for it was he and not Artabazus who was generalissimo of the army by the king's commission. He sent therefore for the leaders of the battalions and the generals of those Greeks that were with him, and asked them if they knew any oracle which prophesied that the Persians should perish in Hellas. They that were summoned said nought, some not knowing the prophecies, and some knowing them but deeming it perilous to speak; then said Mardonius himself: "Since, therefore, you either have no knowledge or are afraid to declare it, hear what I tell you out of the full knowledge that I have. There is an oracle that Persians are fated to come to Hellas and there all perish after they have plundered the temple at Delphi. We, therefore, knowing this same oracle, will neither approach that temple nor essay to plunder it; and in so far as destruction hangs on that, none awaits us. Wherefore as many of you as wish the Persians well may rejoice for that, as knowing that we shall overcome the Greeks." Having thus spoken he gave command to have all prepared and set in fair order for the battle that should be joined at the next day's dawn.

43. Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but the Illyrians and the

οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην
τὴν μάχην ἔστι πεποιημένα,

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
Ἐλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἴνγιν,
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ,
ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μου-
σαίφ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων
ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

44. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ
παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ
ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὡς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς
προελίθατο καὶ ἱσυχίη ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρα-
τόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὑπνῳ,
τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς
τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός
τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι
στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων
οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς
στρατηγούς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὡς ἄνθρωπος
ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων,
ὅς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῦ ἐπος, στρατηγοὺς
δὲ ὄνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.

45. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἥκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἴποντο
ἐς τὰς φυλακάς ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέ-
ξανδρος τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην
ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρριγτα ποιεύ-

¹ Referring to a legendary expedition of these north-western tribes, directed against Hellas and Delphi in particular.

² A little to the N.W. of Thebes.

army of the Encheleës.¹ But there is a prophecy made by Bacis concerning this battle :

By Thermodon's stream and the grassgrown banks
of Asopus
Muster of Greeks for fight, and the ring of a
foreigner's war-cry,
Many a Median archer by death untimely o'er-
taken
There in the battle shall fall when the day of his
doom is upon him ;

this prophecy, and others like to it that were made by Musaeus, I know to have been spoken of the Persians. As for the river Thermodon, it flows between Tanagra and Glisas.²

44. After this questioning concerning oracles, and Mardonius' exhortation, night came on and the armies posted their sentries. Now when the night was far spent and it seemed that all was still in the camps and the men wrapt in deepest slumber, at that hour Alexander son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts and sought to have speech of their generals. The greater part of the sentries abiding where they were, the rest ran to their generals, and told them that a horseman had ridden in from the Persian camp, imparting no other word save that he would have speech of the generals and called them by their names.

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts ; and when they were come Alexander said to them : " Men of Athens, I give you this my message in trust as a secret that

μερος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἡ Πανσαρίνη, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ "Ἑλλην γένος εἴμι τῷρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἄν ἔθέλοιμι ὅρâν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὡν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι πάλαι γὰρ ἀν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιεεσθαι καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτοιμά-
ζεσθε. ἵν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες ὀλιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἵν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νύον τελευτήσῃ, μνη-
σθῆται τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἶνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαί
ὑπὸ προθυμίης, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διά-
νοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν
ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισι κω.
εἴμι δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα
εἴπας ἀπίγλιανε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ
τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες
ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Πανσανίη τά περ
ἥκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ
καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ
τοίνυν ἐστὶ ηὗ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν
ἔστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας,
ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ'
ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἶνεκα· ὑμεῖς

you must reveal to none but Pausanias, lest you even be my undoing; in truth I would not tell it to you were it not by reason of my great care for all Hellas; for I myself am by ancient descent a Greek, and I would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery. I tell you, then, that Mardonius and his army cannot get from the sacrifices omens to his liking; else had you fought long ere this. But now it is his purpose to pay no heed to the sacrifices, and join battle at the first glimmer of dawn; for he is in dread, as I surmise, lest you should muster to a greater host. Therefore I bid you make ready; and if (as may be) Mardonius should delay and not join battle, wait patiently where you are; for he has but a few days' provision left. But if this war end as you would wish, then must you take thought how to save me too from slavery, who of my zeal have done so desperate a deed as this for the cause of Hellas, in my desire to declare to you Mardonius' intent, that so the foreigners may not fall upon you suddenly ere you yet expect them. I that speak am Alexander the Macedonian." With that he rode away back to the camp and his own place therein.

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was struck with fear of the Persians, and said: "Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand fronting the Persians, and we fronting the Boeotians and the Greeks that are posted over against you, by reason that you

ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μῆδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν
Μαραθῶν μαχεσάμενοι, ἵμεῖς δὲ ἀπειροί τε εἰμὲν
καὶ ἀδιάξεις τοιτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ
οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων ἵμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ
Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι εἰσέν. ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντας τὰ
ὅπλα χρεόν ἔστι ἴέραι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας,
ὑμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐθύνυμον.” πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάξες. “Καὶ αὐτοῦντι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ’
ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν κατ’ ὑμέας τασσομένους
τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τῷ φέρετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ
ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε. ἀλλὰ ἀρρωτέομεν μὴ
ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὅν
αὐτοὶ ἐμηῆσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένουσι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι
γεγόναστι καὶ ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιέειν ταῦτα.”

47. Ὡς δὲ ἥρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ιώς τε
διέφαινε καὶ διαλλύσσοιτο τὰς τάξις, γρόντες
δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἔξαγορεύουσι Μαρ-
δονίῳ. ὃ δέ ἐπείτε ἥκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο
γιγόμενον ὁ Ηανσανίης, γροῦς ὅτι οὐ λατθάνει,
ὅπισω ἥγε τοὺς Σπαρτιητας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας.
ὡς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθύνυμον.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἄραις τάξις,
πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιητας
ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ω Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε
εἶναι ἄνδρες ἀριστοί ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων,
ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὗτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμων οὔτε
τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἡ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς
ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δὲ ἄρ’ ἦν οὖδεν
ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ συμμῖξαι ὑμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε
νόμοιν ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν

have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting, but we have no experience or knowledge of those men ; we Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has put the Medes to the test. Nay, let us take up our equipment and remove, you to this wing and we to the left." "We, too," the Athenians answered, "even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted over against you, had it in mind to make that proffer that now has first come from you ; but we feared lest we should displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say."

47. Both being satisfied with this, they exchanged their places in the ranks at the first light of dawn. The Boeotians marked that and made it known to Mardonius ; who, when he heard, forthwith essayed to make a change for himself also, by moving the Persians along to front the Lacedaemonians. But when Pausanias perceived what was this that was being done, he saw that his act was known, and led the Spartans back to the right wing ; and Mardonius did in like manner on the left of his army.

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message : "Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men ; it is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but abide there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. But it would seem that in all this there is no truth ; for ere we can join battle and fight hand to hand, we have seen you even now fleeing and leaving your

ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Ηέρσησι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἔόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὗρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν δὲν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἥρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς ἅρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπείτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἵστοι πρὸς ἵστους ἄριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ’ δὲν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ’ ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ’ ἀν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν.”

49. “Ο μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὃς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὅπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὃ δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς “Ἑλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακούτιζοντές τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἴπποτοξόται τε ἔόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τὴν τε κρίνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ’ ἣς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἵσταν μὲν δὲν κατὰ τὴν κρίνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἔκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ

station, using Athenians for the first assay of your enemy, and arraying yourselves over against those that are but our slaves. This is no brave men's work; nay, we have been grievously mistaken in you; for by what we heard of you, we looked that you should send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you; and that we were ready to do; but we find you making no such proffer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What hinders that we should fight with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the name of being their best), and we for the foreigners? and if it be willed that the others fight also, let them fight later after us; but if contrariwise it be willed that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out, and which side soever wins, let that serve as a victory for the whole army."

49. Thus proclaimed the herald; and when he had waited awhile and none made him any answer, he departed back again, and at his return told Mardonius what had befallen him. Mardonius was overjoyed thereat and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, inasmuch as they were mounted archers and ill to close with; and they troubled and choked the Gargaphian spring, whence all the army of the Greeks drew its water. None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks,

δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ
οὗτῳ δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων ἀπὸ τοῦ πο-
ταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἔξην ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπό τε
τῶν ἴππεων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50. Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων στρατηγοί, ἄτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης
τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης,
συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων,
ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πανσαρίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας.
ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἔοντων μᾶλλον σφέας
ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ τε σφέων
ὑπέωντες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Ηελοπόννησον ὡς
ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκληίατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ
δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

51. Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε,
ἥν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ίμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι
συμβολὴν ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἵέναι. ἦ δὲ
ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαρ-
γαφίης, ἐπ' ᾧ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα στα-
δίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος.
ιῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἀν εἴη ἐν ἡπείρῳ σχιζόμενος ὁ
ποταμὸς ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ρέει κάτω ἐς
τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ρέεθρα ὅσον
περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τώντο.
οὕνομα δέ οἱ Ὁερόη θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι
εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν
χῶρον ἐβούλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι
ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἴππεες σφέας μὴ

¹ Several streams flow N. or N.W. from Cithaeron, and unite eventually to form the small river Oeroë. Between two of these there is a long strip of land, which is perhaps

whereas the Asopus was near; but they would ever go to the spring, because they were barred from the Asopus, not being able to draw water from that river by reason of the horsemen and the arrows.

50. In this turn of affairs, seeing that their army was cut off from water and disordered by the horsemen, the generals of the Greeks betook themselves to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concerning this and other matters; for there were other causes that troubled them more than what I have told; they had no food left, and their followers whom they had sent into the Peloponnese to bring provision thence had been cut off by the horsemen, and could not make their way to the army.

51. So they resolved in their council that if the Persians delayed through that day to give battle, they would go to the Island.¹ This is ten furlongs distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring, whereby their army then lay, and in front of the town of Plataeae. It is like to an island on dry land, by reason that the river in its course down from Cithaeron into the plain is parted into two channels, and there is about three furlongs' space between till presently the two channels unite again; and the name of that river is Oeroë, who (say the people of the country) was the daughter of Asopus. To that place then they planned to remove, that they might have water in plenty for their use, and not be harmed by the

the *vησος*; but it is not now actually surrounded by water, as Herodotus describes it.

For some notice of controversy about the battlefield of Plataeae, see the Introduction to this volume.

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in Gloucest
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σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἔόντων μετακινέεσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἀν μὴ ἴδοίατο οἱ Ηέρσαι ἔξορμωμένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἵπποται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὸς Ὄερόη περισχίζεται ρέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὄπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἥσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

52. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἰχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὡς δὲ ἣ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἵππεες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκιγήθησαν ἔφευγον ἀσμενοι τὴν ἵππου πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ "Ηραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

53. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ "Ηραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὄρῶν σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρίγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἵέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἵέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἥσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίη, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχη-

horsemen, as now when they were face to face ; and they resolved to make their removal in the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them setting forth and the horsemen press after them and disorder their array. Further, they resolved that when they were come to that place, which is encircled by the divided channels of Asopus' daughter Oeroë as she flows from Cithaeron, they would in that night send half of their army to Cithaeron, to fetch away their followers who were gone to get the provision ; for these were cut off from them on Cithaeron.

52. Having formed this design, all that day they suffered unending hardship from the cavalry that continually beset them ; but when the day ended and the horsemen ceased from troubling, then at that hour of the night whereat it was agreed that they should depart the most of them arose and took their departure, not with intent to go to the place whereon they had agreed ; instead of that, once they were afoot they got quit to their great content of the horsemen, and escaped to the town of Plataeae, and came in their flight to the temple of Here which is without that town, twenty furlongs distant from the Gargaphian spring ; thither they came, and piled their arms before the temple.

53. So they encamped about the temple of Here. But Pausanias, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow after the others that went before, supposing that these were making for the place whither they had agreed to go. Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetus son of Poliades, the leader

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γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὄρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἀτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῦνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνους ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανῆτην, μὴ ἵν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθίκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι "Ελλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

54. Καὶ οἱ μὲν παριγγόρεον Ἀμορφάρετον μοῦ-
νον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἱεγεντέων λελειμμένον,
Ἀθηραῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἶχον ὑπρέμας σφέας
αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαι-
μονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονέοντων καὶ ἄλλα
λεγόντων ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπεμ-
πον σφέων ἴππεα ὁψύμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπι-
χειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ
διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυ-
σανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν.

55. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμυμφάρετον ὁ τε Εύρυνάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μέγοντας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ

of the Pitana¹ battalion, refused to flee from the strangers or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council lately held. Pausanias and Euryanax liked little enough that Amompharetus should disobey them; but they disliked yet more that his refusing should compel them to abandon the Pitana battalion; for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. Thus considering, they held the Laconian army unmoved, and strove to persuade Amompharetus that he did not aright.

54. So they reasoned with Amompharetus, he being the only man left behind of all the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans. As for the Athenians, they stood unmoved at their post, well knowing that the purposes and the promises of Lacedaemonians were not alike. But when the army removed from its place, they sent a horseman of their own who should see if the Spartans were essaying to march or if they were wholly without any purpose of departure, and should ask Pausanias what the Athenians must do.

55. When the messenger was come to the Lacedaemonians, he saw them arrayed where they had been, and their chief men by now in hot dispute. For though Euryanax and Pausanias reasoned with Amompharetus, that the Lacedaemonians should not be imperilled by abiding there alone, they could in no

¹ Thucydides (1. 20) denies the existence of a Πιτανάτης λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana *v. iii. 55.*

ἐς νείκεα τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεω ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείρους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὃ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κῆρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρίγματα, ἔχρηιζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαι τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τύ περ ἄν καὶ σφεῖς.

56. Καὶ ὃ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἡῶς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημίνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἴποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἥισαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὅχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχίν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέη τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν

wise prevail with him; and at the last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, hot words began to pass; and in this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and cast it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was his pebble wherewith he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the foreigners). Pausanias called him a madman and distraught; then the Athenian messenger putting the question wherewith he was charged, he bade the man tell the Athenians of his present condition, and prayed them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and do as they did in respect of departure.

56. So the messenger went back to the Athenians. But when dawn found the dispute still continuing, Pausanias having all this time held his army halted, now gave the word and led all the rest away between the hillocks, the Tegeans following; for he supposed that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedaemonians left him; and indeed such was the event. The Athenians set themselves in array and marched, but not by the same way as the Lacedaemonians, who clung close to the broken ground and the lower slopes of Cithaeron, to escape from the Persian horse, but the Athenians marched down into the plain instead.

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he was instant that they should remain where they were and not quit their post; but when Pausanias' men went forward on their way, he deemed that they had left him in good earnest, and so bidding his battalion take up its

λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἥγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος· τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὕσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἴδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἵρὸν ἥσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἴνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι δόπιστο παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἵππόται ἐποίειν οἶνον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεὶ, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἑλληνες τῆσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἥλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἄμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἶδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληριστῶν Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὔρυπυλον καὶ Θρασυδίηον ἔλεγε “Ω παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὄρωντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ὕνδρας εἴναι τὰ πολέμια πρώτους· τοὺς πρότερον τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἶδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὄρδῳν διαδράντας διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεί σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀφευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχη διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι” Ἑλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἐκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσι τι καὶ συνηδέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι

arms he led it at a foot's pace after the rest of the column; which having gone as far as ten furlongs away was waiting for Amompharetus, halting by the stream Molois and the place called Argiopium, where is set a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason of their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but abide there still, they might return and succour him. No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the foreigners' cavalry attacked the army; for the horsemen did according as they had ever been wont, and when they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greek array had been on the days before this, they rode ever forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58. When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had departed under cover of night, and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, and said: "What will you now say, sons of Aleuas! when you see this place deserted? for you, who are their neighbours, ever told me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were surpassing masters of war; yet these same men you lately saw changing from their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled away in the night that is past; no sooner must they measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, than they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you for your part were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I marvelled much more at Artabazus, that he should be

Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γυνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ίέναι ἐς τὸ Ἀηβαίων ἄστυ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμὲν βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἑτέρῳθι ἔσται λόγος. οὐν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἔστι, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.”

59. Ταῦτα εἴπας ἥγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπεῖχε τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὅχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὄρῶντες ὄρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἥειραν τὰ σημῆνα, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστοι εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήισαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας· Ηαυσανίης δέ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵππέα λέγει τάδε. “”Ανδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων. οὐν ὧν δέδοκται τὸ ἐιθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μέν οὐν ἐς ὑμέας ὄρμησε ἄρχῃν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· οὐν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἄπασα κεχώ-

so sore affrighted by the Lacedaemonians as to give us a craven's advice to strike our camp, and march away to be beleaguered in Thebes ; of which advice the king shall yet learn from me. This shall be matter for speech elsewhere ; but now, we must not suffer our enemies to do as they desire ; they must be pursued till they be overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have wrought the Persians."

59. With that, he led the Persians at speed across the Asopus in pursuit of the Greeks, supposing that they were in flight ; it was the army of Lacedaemon and Tegea alone that was his goal ; for the Athenians marched another way over the broken ground, and were out of his sight. Seeing the Persians setting forth in pursuit of the Greeks, the rest of the foreign battalions straightway raised their standards and pursued likewise, each at the top of his speed, no battalion having order in its ranks nor place assigned in the line.

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks ; but Pausanias, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians, with this message : "Men of Athens, in this great issue which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. Now therefore I am resolved what we must forthwith do ; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it had been for us and the Tegeans with us, who are faithful to Hellas, to succour you ; but now, seeing that the whole

ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἔστε ύμεις πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἔναι. εἰ δὲ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ὑμέις δὲ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι, ὃστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.”

61. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοιτο, ὄρμέατο βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καὶ σφι ἥδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὃστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἔόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οὐ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὃστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ “Ηραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.

62. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαγαστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς Βαρβύρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα

brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, aught has befallen you whereby it is impossible that you should aid us, yet do us the service of sending us your archers. We are assured that you will hearken to us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war."

61. When the Athenians heard that, they essayed to succour the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might; but when their march was already begun they were set upon by the Greeks posted over against them, who had joined themselves to the king; wherefore they could now send no aid, being troubled by the foe that was closest. Thus it was that the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans stood alone; men-at-arms and light-armed together, there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand; and they offered sacrifice, the better to join battle with Mardonius and the army that was with him. But as they could get no favourable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were slain and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows innumerable), it was so, that, the Spartans being hard pressed and their sacrifices of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Hera at Plataeae and called on the goddess, praying that they might nowise be disappointed of their hope.

62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of

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μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πανσανίεω ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ώς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἔχωρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ώς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἥδη ἐγίνετο ἡ μάχη ἵσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκουντο ἐς ὡθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ρώμῃ οὐκ ἥσσονες ἥσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοι δὲ ἔοντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἥσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνατίοισι σοφίῃ, προεξαίσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνες τε καὶ ἐλύσσοντες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας καὶ διεφθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐγαντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μέν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ώς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμενὸν ἐὸν ἵσχυρότατον ἐπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἰξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθὶς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων πρὸς γὰρ ὄπλίτας ἔοντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

64. Ἐιθαῦτα ἦ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστίριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιῆτῃσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ τίκην ἀγαιρέεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πανσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγό-

the Lacedaemonians grew to be favourable ; which being at last vouchsafed to them, they too charged the Persians, and the Persians met them, throwing away their bows. And first they fought for the fence of shields ; and when that was down, thereafter the battle waxed fierce and long about the temple of Demeter itself, till they grappled and thrust ; for the foreigners laid hold of the spears and broke them short. Now the Persians were neither the less valorous nor the weaker ; but they had no armour, and moreover they were unskilled and no match for their adversaries in craft ; they would rush out singly and in tens or in groups great or small, hurling themselves on the Spartans and so perishing.

63. Where Mardonius was himself, riding a white horse in the battle and surrounded by a thousand picked men who were the flower of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. So long as Mardonius was alive the Persians stood their ground and defended themselves, overthrowing many Lacedaemonians ; but when Mardonius was slain and his guards, who were the strongest part of the army, fallen likewise, then the rest too yielded and gave ground before the men of Lacedaemon. For what chiefly wrought them harm was that they wore no armour over their raiment, and fought as it were naked against men fully armed.

64. On that day the Spartans gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, according to the oracle, and the most glorious of victories ever known to men was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the

νιων τὰ οὐρόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ώντοὶ γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἔοντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδύνιος ὑπὸ Λειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἔοντος Μεσσηνίοις πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

65. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἔωστῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἔφανη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περὶ τε τὸ ἵρὸν οἱ πλεῦστοι ἐν τῷ βεβίλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἵρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον.

66. Λῦτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἤρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ Βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἴνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἔωστόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἐμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἥγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τῶντὸ ιέναι πάντας τῇ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐξηγένεται, ὅκως ἀν αὐτὸν ὄρωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς

rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas; for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was slain by Aeimnestus, a Spartan of note; who long after the Persian business did in time of war lead three hundred men to battle at Stenyclerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

65. But at Plataeae, the Persians being routed by the Lacedaemonians fled in disorder to their own camp and within the wooden walls that they had made in the lands of Thebes. And herein is a marvellous thing, that though the battle was hard by the grove of Demeter there was no sign that any Persian had been slain in the precinct, or entered into it; most of them fell near the temple in unconsecrated ground; and I judge—if it be not a sin to judge of the ways of heaven—that the goddess herself denied them entry, for that they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis.

66. Thus far then went this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first disliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of no avail; and in his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing he himself did as I will show. He had with him a great army, even as many as forty thousand men; knowing well what would be the event of the battle, no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with purpose fixed, bidding them follow him all together whither he should lead them, according to whatsoever they should see to be his intent; and with that command he made pretence

ἐς μάχην ἥγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὕδοι ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὕτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὕτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῦχος ἀλλ’ ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

67. Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτη ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεύοντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρώτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἐφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος, οὕτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὕτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐφευγον.

68. Δηλοῦ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν Βαρβάρων ἥρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἦ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἐφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἐφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἵει τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπέργονος τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

69. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἶποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γιγομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι "Ἑλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἡραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ

of leading them to battle. But as he came farther on his way he saw the Persians already fleeing; whereat he led his men no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phocis, that so he might make his way with all despatch to the Hellespont.

67. So Artabazus and his army turned that way. All the rest of the Greeks that were on the king's side fought of set purpose ill; but not so the Boeotians; they fought for a long time against the Athenians. For those Thebans that took the Persian part showed no small zeal in the battle, and had no will to fight slackly, insomuch that three hundred of their first and best were there slain by the Athenians. But at last the Boeotians too yielded; and they fled to Thebes, not by the way that the Persians had fled and all the multitude of the allies, a multitude that had fought no fight to the end nor achieved any feat of arms.

68. This flight of theirs ere they had even closed, because they saw the Persians flee, proves to me that it was on the Persians that all the fortune of the foreigners hung. Thus they all fled, save only the cavalry, Boeotian and other; which did in so far advantage the fleeing men as it kept ever between them and their enemies, and shielded its friends from the Greeks in their flight.

69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Here and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a

μικρῷεν οἱ μετὰ Ηαυσανίεω· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἵθι τοῦ ἴροῦ τῆς Δίγμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἵπποται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἥλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἵππάρχεες Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάρδρος, ἐσπεσύντες δὲ κατεστύρεσαν αὐτῶν ἔξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.

70. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἡ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἡέννεατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεε σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενεστέρη. ἔως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δὲ ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν· ὡς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἵσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἥριπον τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μέν νυν

battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious; which when they heard, they set forth in no ordered array, they that were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and they that were with the Megarians and Phliasians following the levelest way over the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were come near to the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) espied them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; by which onfall they laid six hundred of them low, and pursued and swept the rest to Cithaeron.

70. So these perished, none regarding them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they made a shift to get them up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians, which done they strengthened the wall as best they could; and when the Athenians were now arrived there began a stiff battle for the wall. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the foreigners defended themselves, and had greatly the advantage of the Lacedaemonians, they having no skill in the assault of walls; but when the Athenians came up, the fight for the wall waxed hot and continued long. But at the last the Athenians did by valour and steadfast endeavour scale the wall and breach it, by which breach the Greeks poured in; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it beside all else the manger of his horses, that was all of bronze and a thing worth the beholding. The Tegeans dedicated

φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν
υηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
ἐς τῶντο, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι
"Ελλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος
ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν
ἄλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ
πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλη-
μέναι ἀνθρώπων παρῆν τε τοῖσι "Ελλησι
φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ,
καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος
ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περι-
γενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης
ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ
ἐνειήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων
δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ
Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται
Μαρδόνιος Ἐλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ
Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῇ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποση-
μήνασθαι (ἀπαντες γάρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἔωντοὺς
ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἴσχυρότερον προσ-
ηνείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος
ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς
ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριη-
κοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ
τοῦτον ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύων
καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιέτης. καίτοι γενο-
μένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν

¹ These figures must refer to the δηλῖται alone, leaving out of account the Laconian περίουκοι and the rest of the light-

this manger of Mardonius in the temple of Athene Alea ; all else that they took they brought into the common stock, as did the rest of the Greeks. As for the foreigners, they drew no more to a head once the wall was down, but they were crazed with panic fear, as men hunted down in a narrow space where many myriads were herded together ; and such a slaughter were the Greeks able to make, that of two hundred and sixty thousand, that remained after Artabazus had fled with his forty thousand, scarce three thousand were left alive. Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta there were slain in the battle ninety-one in all ; of the Tegeans, seventeen ; and of the Athenians, fifty-two.¹

71. Among the foreigners they that fought best were the Persian foot and the horse of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius ; among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians bore themselves gallantly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valour. Of this my only clear proof is (for all these vanquished the foes opposed to them) that the Lacedaemonians met the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, he that bore himself by far the best was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonoured for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae ;² and the next after him in valour were Posidonius and Philocyon and Amompharetus. Nevertheless when there was talk, and question who had borne himself

armed troops. Plutarch says that 60,300 Greeks fell at Plataea.

¹ Cp. vii. 231.

οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φαινερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσώντα τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἀν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

72. Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὄνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μοῦνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὃ δὲ ἐξενηνειγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεέ τε καὶ ἐλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν εστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωντοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εύτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χριήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἐλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι

most bravely, those Spartans that were there judged that Aristodemus had achieved great feats because by reason of the reproach under which he lay he plainly wished to die, and so pressed forward in frenzy from his post, whereas Posidonius had borne himself well with no desire to die, and must in so far be held the better man. This they may have said of mere jealousy; but all the aforesaid who were slain in that fight received honour, save only Aristodemus; he, because he desired death by reason of the reproach afore-mentioned, received none.

72. These won the most renown of all that fought at Plataeae. Callicrates is not among them; for he died away from the battle, he that, when he came to the army, was the goodliest Lacedaemonian, aye, or Greek, in the Hellas of that day. He, when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, was wounded in the side by an arrow where he sat in his place; and while his comrades were fighting, he was carried out of the battle and died a lingering death, saying to Arimnestus, a Plataean, that it was no grief to him to die for Hellas' sake; his sorrow was rather that he had struck no blow and achieved no deed worthy of his merit, for all his eager desire so to do.

73. Of the Athenians, Sophanes son of Euthichides is said to have won renown, a man of the township of Decelea; that Decelea whose people once did a deed that was for all time serviceable, as the Athenians themselves say. For of old when the sons of Tyndarus strove to win Helen¹ back and

¹ According to legend, the Dioscuri came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphiōnē in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.

ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλιθεῖ καὶ ἀγίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἐλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδησι. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τύδε αἱεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέη ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικυεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα διή μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναίσθω· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἱεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην.

broke with a great host into Attica, and were turning the townships upside down because they knew not where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the country's oldest stock, betrayed to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have ever had and still have at Sparta freedom from all dues and chief places at feasts, insomuch that even as late as in the war that was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.¹

74. Of that township was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle; concerning which, two tales are told. By the first, he bore an anchor of iron made fast to the girdle of his cuirass with a chain of bronze; which anchor he would ever cast whenever he drew nigh to his enemies in onset, that so the enemies as they left their ranks might not avail to move him from his place; and when they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would weigh his anchor and so pursue them. So runs this tale; but the second that is told is at variance with the first, and relates that he bore no anchor of iron made fast to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he ever whirled round and never kept still, had on it an anchor for device.

¹ But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).

75. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμέον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Λῆγιαν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτῳ κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γειόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἥμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωρος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῷ χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76. Ως δὲ τοῖσι "Ελλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτα σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος ἡ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Ηέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς "Ελληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεύσπιος ἀνδρὸς Ηέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῆσι ἔοντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ω βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ρῦσαι με τὴν ἱκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὕνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὕτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῷη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ηγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίη δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. "Γύναι, θάρσεε καὶ ὡς ἱκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα καὶ εἰς

75. Another famous feat of arms Sophanes achieved: when the Athenians were beleaguering Aegina, he challenged and slew Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. But long after this Sophanes, who had borne himself thus gallantly, came by his death; being general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glaucon, he was slain at Datus¹ by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

76. Immediately after the Greeks had laid low the foreigners at Plataeae, there came to them a woman, deserting from the enemy, who was the concubine of Pharandates, a Persian, son of Teaspis. She, learning that the Persians were destroyed and the Greeks victorious, decked herself (as did also her attendants) with many gold ornaments and the fairest raiment that she had, and so lighting from her carriage came to the Lacedaemonians while they were yet at the slaughtering; and seeing Pausanias ordering all that business, whose name and country she knew from her often hearing of it, she knew that it was he, and thus besought him, clasping his knees: "Save me, your suppliant, O king of Sparta! from captive slavery; for you have done me good service till this hour, by making an end of yonder men, that regard not aught that is divine in heaven or earth. Coan am I by birth, daughter to Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian laid violent hands on me and held me prisoner." "Be of good cheer, lady," Pausanias answered, "for that you are my suppliant, and for your tale withal, if

¹ In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thucyd. i. 100, v. 102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.

θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κφόου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐών τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῷν ἐφόρῳ τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Λίγυαρ, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ἥθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἔξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἥκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυρθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μίδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκοι μέχρι Θεσσαλίης· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρίσαντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἥκοντες, καὶ ὥσαύτως οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείους τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Λίγινητέων ἦν Λάμπων Πυθέω, Λίγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἤετο πρὸς Πανσανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ω παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασται τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ρύσαμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅκως λόγος τε σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῷν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Λεωνίδεω

you be verily daughter to Hegetorides of Cos, for he is my closest friend, of all that dwell in those lands." Thus saying, he gave her for the nonce in charge to those of the ephors who were present, and thereafter sent her to Aegina, whither she herself desired to go.

77. Immediately after the coming of this woman, came the men of Mantinea, when all was over; who, learning that they were come too late for the battle, were greatly distressed, and said that they deserved to punish themselves therefor. Hearing that the Medes with Artabazus were fleeing, they would have pursued after them as far as Thessaly; but the Lacedaemonians would not suffer them to pursue fleeing men; and returning to their own land the Mantineans banished the leaders of their army from the country. After the Mantineans came the men of Elis, who also went away sorrowful in like manner as the Mantineans, and after their departure banished their leaders likewise. Such were the doings of the Mantineans and Eleans.

78. Now there was at Plataeae in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina; he sought Pausanias with most unrighteous counsel, and having made haste to come said to him: "Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; by heaven's favour you have saved Hellas, and thereby won greater renown than any Greek known to men. But now you must finish what remains to do, that your fame may be yet the greater, and that no foreigner may hereafter make bold unprovoked to wreak his mad and wicked will on the Greeks. When Leonidas

γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὄμοιην ἀποδιδούς ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὐτὶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην.”

79. “Ο μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὃ δ’ ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “Ω ξεῖνε Λίγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὔνοέειν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σεν, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἔξαείρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτριην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν οὐ περ Ἑλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ’ ὁν τούτου εἴνεκα μήτε Λίγινήτησι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾶ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδη δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῆσί τε τῆσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθης ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσῃς, χάριν τε ἵσθι ἐών ἀπαθής.”

80. “Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἀπτεσθαι τῆς ληίης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ

was slain at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans, and the rest of Hellas besides; for if you impale Mardonius you will be avenged for your father's brother Leonidas."

79. So said Lampon, thinking to please. But Pausanias answered him thus: "Sir Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought; but you have missed the mark of right judgment; for first you exalt me on high and my fatherland and my deeds withal, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you counsel me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I so do; but that were an act more proper for foreigners than for Greeks, and one that we deem matter of blame even in foreigners. Nay, for myself, I would fain in this business find no favour either with the people of Aegina or whoso else is pleased by such acts; it is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deed and righteous speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, I hold that he has had full measure of vengeance; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honour to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning, that you come not again to me with words like these—nor give me such counsel; and be thankful now that you go unpunished."

80. With that answer Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation, that no man should touch the spoil, and bade the helots gather all the stuff together. They, scattering all about the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls

ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπόμπατα σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξέων εὗρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεύοντες χρύσεοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων τεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἔόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδείς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Λίγινήτας οἱ εἶλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἴα τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Λίγινήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄπε ἔόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὠνέοντο.

81. Συμφορίσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρίνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὁλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχνυ χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχνυ χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἔκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποξύγια. ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δὲ ἐγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι. Πανσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναικες ἵπποι τάλαιτα κάμηλοι, ὃς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τάλλα χρήματα.

¹ The bronze three-headed serpent supporting the cauldron was intended apparently to commemorate the whole Greek alliance against Persia. The serpent pedestal still exists,

and cups and other drinking-vessels ; and sacks they found on wains, wherein were seen cauldrons of gold and silver ; and they stripped from the dead that lay there their armlets and torques, and daggers of gold ; as for many-coloured raiment, it was nothing regarded. Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal ; but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans ; insomuch that the Aeginetans thereby laid the foundation of their great fortunes, by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.

81. Having brought all the stuff together they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi, whereof was made and dedicated that tripod that rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent,¹ nearest to the altar ; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, whereof was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high ; and another for the god of the Isthmus, whereof came a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high ; all which having set apart they divided the remnant, and each received according to his desert of the concubines of the Persians, and the gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff, and the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataeae, no man says ; but I think that they also received gifts ; but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things likewise, was set apart and given to Pausanias.

in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whither it was transported by Constantine ; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells' note *ad loc.*

82. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ώς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· Παυσανίην διόρθωντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὄφοποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ώς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. ώς δὲ τῆς θοίης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευὴν, ““Ανδρες Ἑλληνες, τῶνδε εἴησκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνῆγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μῆδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιται ἔχων ἥλθε ἐς ὑμέας οὕτω διξυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος.”” ταῦτα μὲν Παυσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

83. Τστέρῳ μέιτοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
Πλαταιέων εὑρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ
ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάίη δὲ
καὶ τόδε ὑστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ περι-
ψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ
ὅστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐσ ἔνα χῶρον εὑρέθη κεφαλὴ
οὐκ ἔχουσα ραφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα

82. This other story is also told. Xerxes in his flight from Hellas, having left to Mardonius his own establishment, Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily-coloured tapestry, bade the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner in such wise as they were wont to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding; whereat Pausanias, when he saw golden and silvern couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendour before him, and for a jest bade his own servants prepare a dinner after Laconian fashion. When that meal was ready and was far different from the other, Pausanias fell a-laughing, and sent for the generals of the Greeks. They being assembled, Pausanias pointed to the fashion after which either dinner was served, and said : " Men of Hellas, I have brought you hither because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes ; who, with such provision for life as you see, came hither to take away from us ours, that is so pitiful." Thus, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

83. But in later days many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and all else. Moreover there were sights to see among these dead, when their bones (which the Plataeans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh: there was found a skull whereof the bone was all

δοστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἄγω¹ τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς δοστέου πάντας τούς τε προσθίους καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀιδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

84. Επείτε δὲ² Μαρδονίου δευτέρη ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἥφαντιστο, ὑπὸ ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἥδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἥκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύγαμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

85. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῆσι τὴν ληίην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἔκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἵρενας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἥσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἥσαν οἱ ἵρενες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἴλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὄμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῆσι ἐόντες

¹ MS. καὶ τὸ ἄγω; Stein suggests κατά, which is here adopted.

² MS. ἔπειτε δέ, introducing a protasis which has no apodosis; Stein's suggested ἔπει γε δή (=for as to Mardonius, etc.) seems preferable.

one without suture, and a jawbone wherein the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders; and there were to be seen the bones of a man of five cubits' stature.

84. As for the body of Mardonius, it was made away with on the day after the battle; by whom, I cannot with exactness say; but I have heard of very many of all countries that buried Mardonius, and I know of many that were richly rewarded for that act by Mardonius' son Artontes; but which of them it was that stole away and buried the body of Mardonius I cannot learn for a certainty, albeit some report that it was buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian. Such was the manner of Mardonius' burial.

85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoil at Plataeae, buried their dead each severally in their place. The Lacedaemonians made three vaults; there they buried their "irens,"¹ among whom were Posidonius and Amompharetus and Philocyon and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the "irens," in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. Thus the Lacedaemonians buried their dead; the Tegeans buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did likewise with their own dead; and so did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been slain by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae,

¹ Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.

τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ώς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἔκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων εἴνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λίγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Λίγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἔόντα αὐτῶν.

86. Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῆσι οἱ "Ελληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι σφι ἀδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἔξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἥσαν· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἔξέλωσι. ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τίν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε. "Ανδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι "Ελλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἔξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν δὲν ἡμέων εἴνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἔξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην

their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. In truth there is one there that is called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I have been told, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodiceus, a Plataean.

86. As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataeae, they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian part, but specially of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men; and that, if these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from before the city till they should have taken it. Being thus resolved, they came with this intent on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men; and the Thebans refusing this surrender, they laid their lands waste and assaulted the walls.

87. Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying, when nineteen days were past, Timagenidas thus spoke to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes be taken or we be delivered to them, now let not the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake; nay, if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian part); but if they be besieging the town for no other cause save to have us, then we will give

παρέξομεν.” κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Πανσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

88. Ὡς δὲ ώμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἴραι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἔξεδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἵ μὲν ἐδόκεοι ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὕτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἔξηγορευε οὐδὲν πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἐγὼ μὲν ὡς ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ως ὄρατε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλῶν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατά τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαιύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστί.

ourselves up to be tried by them." This seeming to be very well and seasonably said, the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

88. On these terms they made an agreement; but Attaginus escaped out of the town; his sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were nowise accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thebans surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on their trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery; but Pausanias had that very suspicion of them, and when they were put into his hands he sent away the whole allied army, and carried the men to Corinth, where he put them to death. Such were the doings at Plataeae and Thebes.

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataeae. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had been done at Plataeae. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would imperil his own life and the lives of all that were with him; for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story; wherefore, thus reasoning, even as he had revealed nothing to the Phocians so he spoke thus to the Thessalians: "I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with these whom you see; and you may look to see Mardonius and that host of his yonder, marching

τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐσ χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπῆλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίης τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἵθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμιων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐσ Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἔωντοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ' ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπειρόστησε ἐσ τὴν Ἀσίην.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῆσι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δίγλφ κατέατο οἱ "Ελληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἄμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἥλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀιδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἦν μοῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ "Ιωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἀν αὐτούς· θεούς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας "Ελληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῆναι τὸν βάρβαρον· εὐπετέτες τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοί τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι

close after me. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service ; for if you so do, you will not afterwards repent of it." So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, brooking in good sooth no delay and following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army, cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness ; and from Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such case Artabazus returned into Asia.

90. Now on the selfsame day when the Persians were so stricken at Plataeae, it so fell out that they suffered a like fate at Mycale in Ionia. For the Greeks who had come in their ships with Leutychides the Lacedaemonian being then in quarters at Delos, there came to them certain messengers from Samos, to wit, Lampon son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras ; these the Samians had sent, keeping their despatch secret from the Persians and the despot Theomestor son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made despot of Samos. When they came before the generals, Hegesistratus spoke long and vehemently : "If the Ionians but see you," said he, "they will revolt from the Persians ; and the foreigners will not stand ; but if perchance they do stand, you will have such a prey as never again" ; and he prayed them in the name of the gods of their common worship to deliver Greeks from slavery and drive the foreigner away. That, said he, would be an easy matter for them ; "for the Persian ships are unseaworthy and no match for yours ; and if you

μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἔτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι
τηνσὶ τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι.

91. Ως δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λιστόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ
Σάμιος, εἴρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἴνεκεν
θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ
ποιεῦντος, “Ὥξεινε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;”
ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ἡγησίστρατος.” ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν
ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὄρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησί-
στρατος, εἶπε “Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησί-
στράτου, ὃ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὕκας
αὐτός τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ
ἔοντες οἵδε, ἥ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι
συμμάχους.”

92. Ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἡγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον
προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ
ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλ-
ληνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον·
μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησί-
στρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύμενος.

93. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν
ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοιτο, μαντευομένου
σφι Δηιφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω,
Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰογίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτου
τὸν πατέρα Εὐηνίου κατέλαβε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε.
ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἵρα ἱλίου πρόβατα,
τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμόν,
ὅς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης
χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ· Ὁρικον λιμένα, τὰς
δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ
γένει δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι
ἐμπαυτὸν ἔκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται

have any suspicion that we may be tempting you guilefully, we are ready to be carried in your ships as hostages."

91. This Samian stranger being so earnest in entreaty, Leutychides asked him (whether it was that he desired to know for the sake of a presage, or that heaven happily prompted him thereto), "Sir Samian, what is your name?" "Hegesistratus,"¹ said he. Then Leutychides cut short whatever else Hegesistratus had begun to say, and cried: "I accept the omen of your name, Sir Samian; now do you see to it that ere you sail hence you and these that are with you pledge yourselves that the Samians will be our zealous allies."

92. Thus he spoke, and then and there added the deed thereto; for straightway the Samians bound themselves by pledge and oath to alliance with the Greeks. This done, the rest sailed away, but Leutychides bade Hegesistratus take ship with the Greeks, for the good omen of his name.

93. The Greeks waited through that day, and on the next they sought and won favourable augury; their diviner was Deiphonus son of Evenius, a man of that Apollonia which is in the Ionian gulf. This man's father Evenius had once fared as I will now relate. There is at the aforesaid Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the daytime is pastured beside the river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Laemon through the lands of Apollonia and issues into the sea by the haven of Oricum; by night, those townsmen who are most notable for wealth or lineage are chosen to watch it, each man serving for a year; for the people of

¹ Hegesistratus = Army-leader.

Απολλωνιήται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ως ἔξηκοντα. ὃ δὲ ως ἐπήισε, εἰχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραξε οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ως ἐπύθοιτο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ως τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὕτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὕτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν. πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἐν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἵ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραξον ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἵρων προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἀν αὐτὸς ἔληται καὶ δικαιοῦ· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῦν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

94. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτα σφι ἔχρισθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιήται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι πρόθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἵ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὡδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθεϊ· ταύτη δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἀν ἔλοιτο,

Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is folded in a cave far distant from the town. Now at the time whereof I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves came past his guard into the cave, killing about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, being minded to restore what was lost by buying others. But this matter was not hid from the people of Apollonia ; and when it came to their knowledge they haled him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius ; but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield her fruits as aforetime ; and a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill : the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, "for we ourselves" (said they) "sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him ere you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves ; when that is fully done, we will ourselves give Evenius such a gift as will make many men to deem him happy."

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret, and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through ; who did so as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune ; and thus guiding the discourse they asked him what requital he would

εὶς ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δῶσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοώς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶδετο εἴπας εἴ τις οἱ δοίη ἄγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὄνομάσας τοῖσι ἡπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἰκησιν πρὸς τούτοισι τὴν ἥδεε καλλίστην ἔοῦσαν τῶν ἐν πόλι τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπίχθολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμίγνυτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες “Εὐήγιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίεε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ώς ἐξαπατηθείσ· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἶλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὄνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφορος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἥκουσα, ώς ὁ Δηίφορος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

96. Τοῖσι δὲ “Ἐλλησι ώς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς Καλαμίσοισι, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραιον τὸ ταύτη παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοισι γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι οὐ γὰρ ὡν

choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite him for what they had done. He, knowing nought of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he deemed to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town ; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would forgo his wrath, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. They that sat by him waited for no further word than that, and said : “Evenius, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them.” At that he was very angry, for he learnt thereby the whole story and saw that they had cheated him ; but they bought from the possessors and gave him what he had chosen ; and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, so that he won fame thereby.

95. Deiphonus, the son of this Evenius, had been brought by the Corinthians, and practised divination for the army. But I have heard it said ere now, that Deiphonus was no son of Evenius, but made a wrongful use of that name, and wrought for wages up and down Hellas.

96. Having won favourable omens, the Greeks stood out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there hard by the temple of Hera that is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight ; the Persians, learning of their approach, stood likewise out to sea and made for the mainland, with all their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea ; for they

έδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἔντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἦν ἔξι μυριάδες, ἐστρατιγες δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράμης κάλλει καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος ἔρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρητσφύγετον.

97. Ταῦτα βουλευτάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ηοτιιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαισωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νείλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἡμέρα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο,

98. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκέτας τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον, ἥχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἀπορίῃ τε εἴχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὡπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἐλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἥπειρον. παρασκευασμένοι δὲν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς

deemed themselves overmatched ; and the reason of their making for the mainland was, that they might lie under the shelter of their army at Mycale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia ; there were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the goodliest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves.

97. With this design they put to sea. So when they came past the temple of the Goddesses¹ at Mycale to the Gaeson and Scolopois,² where is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built by Philistus son of Pasicles, when he went with Nileus son of Codrus to the sounding of Miletus), there they beached their ships and fenced them round with stones and trunks of orchard trees that they cut down ; and they drove in stakes round the fence, and prepared for siege or victory, making ready of deliberate purpose for either event.

98. When the Greeks learnt that the foreigners were off and away to the mainland, they were ill-pleased to think that their enemy had escaped them, and doubted whether to return back or make sail for the Hellespont. At the last they resolved that they would do neither, but sail to the mainland ; and equipping themselves therefore with gangways and all else needful for a sea-fight, they

¹ Demeter and Persephone.

² The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the hill called Mycale ; Scolopois, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).

Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαιίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νῇ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι "Ιωσι λέγων ····Λιδρες" Ιωνες, οἱ ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνίσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνῆσθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος "Ιβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." ὡντὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὃ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἦ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ρήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς "Ιωνας πείσειν, ἷ ἐπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι "Ελλησι.

99. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίευν οἱ "Ελληνες" προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδοι τοὺς "Ελληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι "Ιωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ "Ελλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὁν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἴνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω

held their course for Mycale. When they came near to the camp and found none putting out to meet them, and saw the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides thereupon first coasted along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: "Men of Ionia, you that hear us, take heed of what I say! for in no case will the Persians understand aught of my charge to you: when we join battle, let a man remember first his freedom, and next the battle-cry 'Hebe': and let him that hears me not be told of this by him that hears." The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles' purpose at Artemisium¹; either the message would be unknown to the foreigners and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the foreigners it would make them to mistrust their Greek allies.

99. After this counsel of Leutychides', the Greeks next brought their ships to land and disembarked on the beach, where they put themselves in array. But the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepare for battle and exhort the Ionians, first of all took away the Samians' armour, suspecting that they favoured the Greeks; for indeed when the foreigners' ships brought certain Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica and taken by Xerxes' army, the Samians had set them all free and sent them away to Athens with provision for the way; for which cause in especial they were held suspect, as having set free five hundred souls of Xerxes' enemies.

¹ Cp. viii. 22.

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πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην. ἐποίευν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦδε εὗνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

100. Ως δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάσατο τοῖσι "Ελλησι, προσήισαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ίοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκίου ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγης κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθε σφι ὥδε, ὡς οἱ "Ελληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῶντες ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι "Ελλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμοτέρον κινδυνεύειν.

101. Καὶ τόδε ἔτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δημητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινῆς παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῇδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Πανσανίεω Ἐλλήνων ὄρθως σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρωὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε

Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country; but their true reason for so doing was, that the Milesians should be away from the rest of their army. In such manner did the Persians safeguard themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given; for themselves, they set their shields close to make a barricade.

100. The Greeks, having made all preparation, advanced their line against the foreigners. As they went, a rumour sped all about the army, and a herald's wand was seen lying by the water-line; and the rumour that ran was to the effect that the Greeks were victors over Mardonius' army at a battle in Boeotia. Now there are many clear proofs of the divine ordering of things; seeing that at this time, the Persians' disaster at Plataeae falling on the same day as that other which was to befall them at Mycale, the rumour came to the Greeks at that place, whereby their army was greatly heartened and the readier to face danger.

101. Moreover there was this other coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataeae the fight was hard by the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale likewise. It so fell out that the rumour of victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias spoke truth; for the defeat of Plataeae happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mycale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same

γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίῃ σφι, πρὶν τὴν φίμων ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὕτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω ώς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς. ώς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεύντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ώς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

102. Τοῖσι μέν τυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγαλόν τε καὶ ἅπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατά τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ κέρεῃ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἔως μέν τυν τοῖσι Πέρσησι ὀρθὰ ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἔωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἥδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικουώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ώς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραιρῆτο, οὕτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὄρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμά-

month was proved to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumour came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, lest Mardonius should be the stumbling-block of Hellas; but when the report sped among them they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and foreigners alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

102. As for the Athenians and those whose place was nearest them, that is, for about half of the line, their way lay over the beach and level ground; for the Lacedaemonians and those that were next to them, through a ravine and among hills; and while the Lacedaemonians were making a circuit, those others on the other wing were already fighting. While the Persians' shields stood upright, they defended themselves and held their own in the battle; but when the Athenians and their neighbours in the line passed the word and went more zealously to work, that they and not the Lacedaemonians might win the victory, immediately the face of the fight was changed. Breaking down the shields they charged all together into the midst of the Persians, who received the onset and stood their ground for a long time, but at the last fled within their wall; and the Athenians and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Troezenians, who were next to each other in the line, followed hard after and rushed in together likewise. But when the walled place was won, the foreigners made no further defence, but took to flight, all save the Persians, who gathered themselves into bands of a few men and fought

χοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῦχος ἐσπίπτουσι· Ελλίγων.
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀπο-
φεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταΐντης μὲν καὶ
Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀπο-
φεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρα-
τηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

103. "Ἐπι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐλ-
λίγων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι
καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως· τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ
στρατευόμενοι ἔόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ
Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, ώς εἶδον
αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μά-
χην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνέατο προσωφελέειν ἔθέλοντες
τοῖσι "Ἐλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἴδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι
Ιωνεῖς ἄρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες
ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

104. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν
Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἴνεκά σφι,
ώς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνη οἵα περ κατέλαβε,
ἔχοντες ἡγεμόγας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς
Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ
πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἴνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ
παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν·
οἱ δὲ πᾶν τούναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον,
ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἱ
δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι
ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ
δεύτερον Ιωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artayntes and Ithamitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardonius and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were slain fighting.

103. While the Persians still fought, the Lacedaemonians and their comrades came up, and finished what was left of the business. The Greeks too lost many men there, notably the men of Sicyon and their general Perilaus. As for the Samians who served in the Median army, and had been disarmed, they, seeing from the first that victory hung in the balance,¹ did what they could in their desire to aid the Greeks; and when the other Ionians saw the Samians set the example, they also thereupon deserted the Persians and attacked the foreigners.

104. The Persians had for their own safety appointed the Milesians to watch the passes, so that if haply aught should befall the Persian army such as did befall it, they might have guides to bring them safe to the heights of Mycale. This was the task to which the Milesians were appointed, for the aforesaid reason, and that they might not be present with the army and so turn against it. But they did wholly contrariwise to the charge laid upon them; they misguided the fleeing Persians by ways that led them among their enemies, and at last themselves became their worst enemies and slew them. Thus did Ionia for the second time revolt from the Persians.

¹ ἐτεραλκῆς here probably means “doubtful,” giving victory to one side or other; cp. vii. 11; in Homer it means “decisive,” giving victory to one *as opposed to* the other.

HERODOTUS

105. Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἐρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκίγσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἐρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἔόντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἡρίστευσαν.

106. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄπαν, τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγαλόν, καὶ θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκη χρεὸν εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἥσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἰωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἰωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτειρόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἰξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι.

105. In that battle those of the Greeks that fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian that fought best was one who practised the pancratium,¹ Hermolyceus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolyceus on a later day met his death in battle at Cyrus in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those that fought best next after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon.

106. When the Greeks had made an end of most of the foreigners, either in battle or in flight, they brought out their booty on to the beach, and found certain stores of wealth; then they burnt the ships and the whole of the wall, which having burnt they sailed away. When they were arrived at Samos, they debated in council whether they should dispeople Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it were best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the foreigners; for it seemed to them impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies for ever; yet if they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would suffer the Ionians to go unpunished. In this matter the Peloponnesians that were in authority were for removing the people from the marts of those Greek nations that had sided with the Persians, and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in; but the Athenians disliked the whole design of dispeopling Ionia, or suffering the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies; and as they resisted hotly, the Peloponnesians

¹ The “pancratium” was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἱ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι "Ελλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὄρκίοισι ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὄρκίοισι ἐπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὑρῆσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' "Ελλησπόντου ἐπλεον.

107. Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἔοντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ' ὄδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθεϊ τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταῦντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἰκου κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι γυναικὸς κακίω ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστι. ὃ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἥκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπάται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ὅπισθε ἐστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταῦντεω ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παίσι ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. ὃ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστη τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἡρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὄδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

108. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασι-

yielded. Thus it came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chiens, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their armaments, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies; who being thus sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont.

107. The few foreigners who escaped were driven to the heights of Mycale, and made their way thence to Sardis. While they were journeying on the road, Masistes son of Darius, who had chanced to be present at the Persian disaster, reviled the admiral Artaÿntes very bitterly, telling him (with much beside) that such generalship as his proved him worse than a woman, and that no punishment was too bad for the hurt he had wrought to the king's house. Now it is the greatest of all taunts in Persia to be called worse than a woman. These many insults so angered Artaÿntes, that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him; but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artaÿntes himself, saw him run at Masistes, and caught him round the middle and lifted and hurled him to the ground; meanwhile Masistes' guards came between them. By so doing Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes, for saving the king's brother; for which deed he was made ruler of all Cilicia by the king's gift. They went then on their way without any outcome of the matter, and came to Sardis.

108. Now it chanced that the king had been at

λεὺς ἐξ ἑκείου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ γαυμαχίῃ φυγὴν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἥρα ἦρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικός, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἔδυτα πατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεύμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην· τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναικαντὴν γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τενχομένην· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήστει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐωντοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπίγλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἤγαγετο ἐς ἐωντοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναικαντὴν, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὃ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὗνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἢν 'Αρταῦτη.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπω τοιῷδε. ἐξυφίνασα "Αμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ. ὃ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν 'Αρταῦτην ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτη ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε παγοικίη γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ "Δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;" ὃ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὥμοσε. ἦ δὲ ως ὥμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο

Sardis ever since he came thither in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was also at that place. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed wrought with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used with her), Xerxes found no other way to his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes; for he thought that by so doing he would be likeliest to get her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony, and rode away to Susa. But when he was come thither and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed about, and wooed and won this girl Artaynte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109. But as time went on the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-coloured mantle, wondrous to behold. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went wearing it to Artaynte; and being pleased with her too, he bade her ask for what she would have in return for her favours, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereat—for she and all her house were doomed to evil—she said to Xerxes, “Will you give me whatever I ask of you?” and he promised and swore it, supposing that she would ask anything but that; but when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes strove hard to refuse her, for no cause save

μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεύμενος δὲ "Αμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γυνόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῆ πρήστων· ἄλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἅπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῦ τὸ φάρος. ἢ δὲ περιχαρῆς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.

110. Καὶ ἡ "Αμηστρις πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἢ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὅλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλήιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἄπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρη τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. οὕνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ "Αμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναι οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναικα. ὃ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναικα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἴνεκεν ἐδέετο.

111. Τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλήιον δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιέει ὥδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὃ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε. "Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἰς

that he feared lest Amestris might have plain proof of his doing what she already guessed; and he offered her cities instead, and gold in abundance, and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the properest of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

110. Amestris heard that she had the mantle; but when she learnt the truth her anger was not with the girl; she supposed rather that the girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife that she plotted to destroy. She waited therefore till Xerxes her husband should be giving his royal feast. This banquet is served once a year, on the king's birthday; the Persian name for it is "tukta," which is in the Greek language "perfect"; on that day (and none other) the king anoints his head, and makes gifts to the Persians. Waiting for that day, Amestris then desired of Xerxes that Masistes' wife should be given to her. Xerxes held it a terrible and wicked act to give up his brother's wife, and that too when she was guiltless of the deed supposed; for he knew the purpose of the request.

111. Nevertheless, Amestris being instant, and the law constraining him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every boon asked must of necessity be granted), he did very unwillingly consent, and delivered the woman to Amestris; then, bidding her do what she would, he sent for his brother and thus spoke: "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, yea, and a right good man; hear me then;

ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις
μὴ συνοίκεε, ἄλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγα-
τέρα τὴν ἐμίν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις,
οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα.” ὁ δὲ Μασί-
στης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. “Ω
δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων
με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδες τε νεηνίαι εἰσὶ καὶ
θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωυτοῦ
ἡγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτή τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει
κύρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγα-
τέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦ μεγάλα μὲν
ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω
μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ
πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δέομενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυ-
γατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσων,
ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ
τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει
τάδε. “Οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε
γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε
ἔκείνη πλεῦνα χρόιον συνοικήσεις, ώς μάθῃς τὰ
διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.” ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἥκουσε, εἴπας
τοσόνδε ἔχωρεε ἔξω “Δέσποτα, οὐ δή κώ με
ἀπώλεσας.

112. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ
Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ “Αμηστρις μετα-
πεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυ-
μαίνεται τὴν γυναικα τοῦ Μασίστεω· τούς τε
μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ρῖνα καὶ
ῶτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἰκόν
μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

113. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοὼς τούτων,
ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς

you must live no longer with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place; take her for your own; but put away the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." At that Masistes was amazed: "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, bidding me deal thus with my wife? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son; and I am exceeding well content with herself; yet do you bid me put her away and wed your daughter? Truly, O king, I deem it a high honour to be accounted worthy of your daughter; but I will do neither the one nor the other. Nay, constrain me not to consent to such a desire; you will find another husband for your daughter as good as I; but suffer me to keep my own wife." Thus answered Masistes; but Xerxes was very angry, and said: "To this pass you are come, Masistes; I will give you no daughter of mine to wife, nor shall you longer live with her that you now have; thus shall you learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said nought but this: "Nay, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed.

112. But in the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes' guards and used Masistes' wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman's breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips likewise, and cut out her tongue, and sent her home thus cruelly used.

113. Knowing nought as yet of this, but fearing evil, Masistes ran speedily to his house. Seeing the

τὰ οἰκία. ἵδων δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναικα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ νίοῖσι καὶ δῆ κου τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοισι ως ἀποστήσων νομὸν τον Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ως ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν μιν καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

114. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὄρμηθέντες "Ελληνες ἐπ' Ἐλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς "Αβυδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εύρισειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα εἶνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μέν τυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ως ἐύντος ἴσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτῃ, συνῆλθον, ως ἥκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, ἐκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Ηέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς. εἰχον

havoc made of his wife, straightway he took counsel with his children and set forth to journey to Bactra with his own sons (and others too, belike), purposing to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and work the king the greatest of harm ; which he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped up into the country of the Bactrians and Sacae ; for they loved him well, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no avail ; for Xerxes learnt his intent, and sent against him an army that slew him on his way, and his sons and his army withal. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death.

114. The Greeks that had set out from Mycale for the Hellespont first lay to off Lectum¹ under stress of weather, and thence came to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would be still holding fast, and indeed these were the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides thus resolved that they would sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

115. Now when the Persians heard that the Greeks were at the Hellespont, they had come in from the neighbouring towns and assembled at this same Sestus, seeing that it was the strongest walled place in that region ; among them there was come from Cardia a Persian named Oeobazus, and he had carried thither the tackle of the bridges. Sestus was held

¹ At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.

δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Λίολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος.

116. Ἐτυράντεν δὲ τούτου τοῦ γομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὑπαρχος Ἀρταΐκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Ηέρσης, δειγός δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθηνας ἔξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆται καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταΐκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. “Δέσποτα, ἐστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς” Ἑλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι.” ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόγεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτός τε ὁκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὕτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὕτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἀφύκτως δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισι σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἥσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς

by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies withal.

116. This province was ruled by Xerxes' viceroy Artayetes, a cunning man and a wicked; witness the deceit that he practised on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus¹ son of Iphiclus. This was the way of it: there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct about it, where was much treasure, with vessels of gold and silver, bronze, raiment, and other dedicated offerings; all of which Artayetes carried off, by the king's gift. "Sire," he said deceitfully to Xerxes, "there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man's house, whereby all may be taught not to invade your territory." It was to be thought that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, having no suspicion of Artayetes' meaning; whose reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory was, that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whosoever is their king. So when the treasure was given him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct; and he would come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it, nor thought that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escape from their attack.

117. But the siege continuing into the late autumn, the Athenians grew weary of their absence

¹ The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, *νηὸς ἀποθράσκων* (Hom. *Il.* ii. 701).

έωντάν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὅπίσω, οὐδὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἡ ἐξέλωσι ἡ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν σφέας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.

118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεῃ ἐς πᾶν ἥδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόγους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἵ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταΰκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἷν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονός καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οὐδὲ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μέν τυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην ὕστεροι ὄρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ως κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Λίγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οὖ μὲν ἀπέθανον οὐδὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἑλληνες ἵγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταΰκτην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὔτοῦ.

120. Καί τεῳ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι

from home and their ill success at taking the fortress, and entreated their generals to lead them away again; but the generals refused to do that, till they should take the place or be recalled by the Athenian state. Thereat the men endured their plight patiently.

118. But they that were within the walls were by now brought to the last extremity, insomuch that they boiled the thongs of their beds for food; but at the last even these failed them, and Artayetes and Oeobazus and all the Persians made their way down from the back part of the fortress, where their enemies were scarcest, and fled away at nightfall. When morning came, the people of the Chersonesus signified from their towers to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates; and the greater part of the Athenians going in pursuit, the rest stayed to hold the town.

119. Oeobazus made to escape into Thrace; but the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him after their fashion to Plistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they slew them in another manner. Artayetes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat's Rivers,¹ where after they had defended themselves a long time some of them were slain and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound and carried them to Sestus, and Artayetes and his son likewise with them in bonds.

120. It is told by the people of the Chersonesus that a marvellous thing befell one of them that

¹ A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).

τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἵχθύες οἰεάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθάμαξον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ως εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὄπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη “Ξεῦτε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφητε, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἑλαιούντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν διν ἄποινά μοι τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ’ ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος.” ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπέρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω κατέλευσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἔγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ως ἀγαθίσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ το ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρέμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσησι ἔξιγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες

guarded Artaÿetes : he was frying dried fishes, and these as they lay over the fire began to leap and writhe as though they were fishes newly caught. The rest gathered round, amazed at the sight ; but when Artaÿetes saw the strange thing, he called him that was frying the fishes and said to him : “ Sir Athenian, be not afraid of this portent ; it is not to you that it is sent ; it is to me that Protesilaus of Elaeus would signify that though he be dead and dry he has power given him by heaven to take vengeance on me that wronged him. Now therefore I offer a ransom, to wit, payment of a hundred talents to the god for the treasure that I took from his temple ; and I will pay to the Athenians two hundred talents for myself and my son, if they spare us.” But Xanthippus the general was unmoved by this promise ; for the people of Elaeus entreated that Artaÿetes should be put to death in justice to Protesilaus, and the general himself likewise was so minded. So they carried Artaÿetes away to the headland where Xerxes had bridged the strait (or, by another story, to the hill above the town of Madytus), and there nailed him to boards and hanged him aloft ; and as for his son, they stoned him to death before his father’s eyes.

121. This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with them the tackle of the bridges to be dedicated in their temples, and the rest of the stuff withal. And in that year nothing further was done.

122. This Artaÿetes who was crucified was grandson to that Artemibares¹ who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid

¹ There is an Artemibares in i. 114 ; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.

Κύρῳ προσήγεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. “Ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς
 Ηέρσησι ἡγεμονίην διδοῦ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κῦρε,
 κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα
 δλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ
 ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ
 μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκαστέρω, τῶν
 μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι.
 οἰκὸς δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων
 τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσις τε τῆς Ἀσίης;” Κῦρος
 δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον
 ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε
 κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ως οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας
 ἄλλ’ ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν
 χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς
 γῆς εἴναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας
 ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι
 οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς
 Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἶλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον
 ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

before Cyrus; this was its purport: "Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, by bringing Astyages low, let us now remove out of the little and rugged land that we possess and take to ourselves one that is better. There be many such on our borders, and many further distant; if we take one of these we shall have more reasons for renown. It is but reasonable that a ruling people should act thus; for when shall we have a fairer occasion than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?" Cyrus heard them, and found nought to marvel at in their design; "Do so," said he; "but if you do, make ready to be no longer rulers, but subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." Thereat the Persians saw that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed from before him, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than slaves dwelling in tilled valleys.

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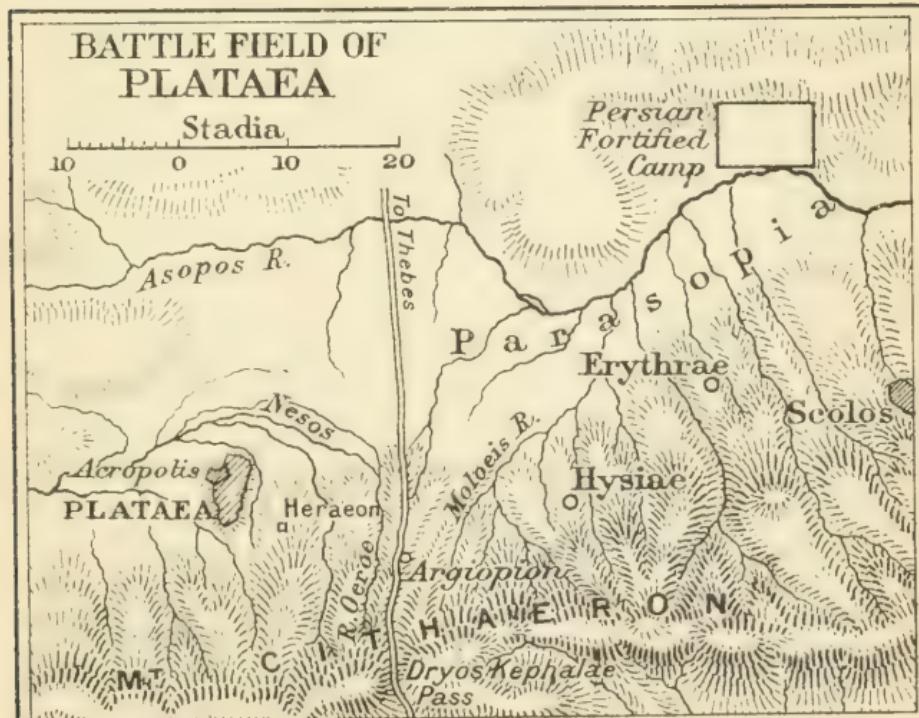
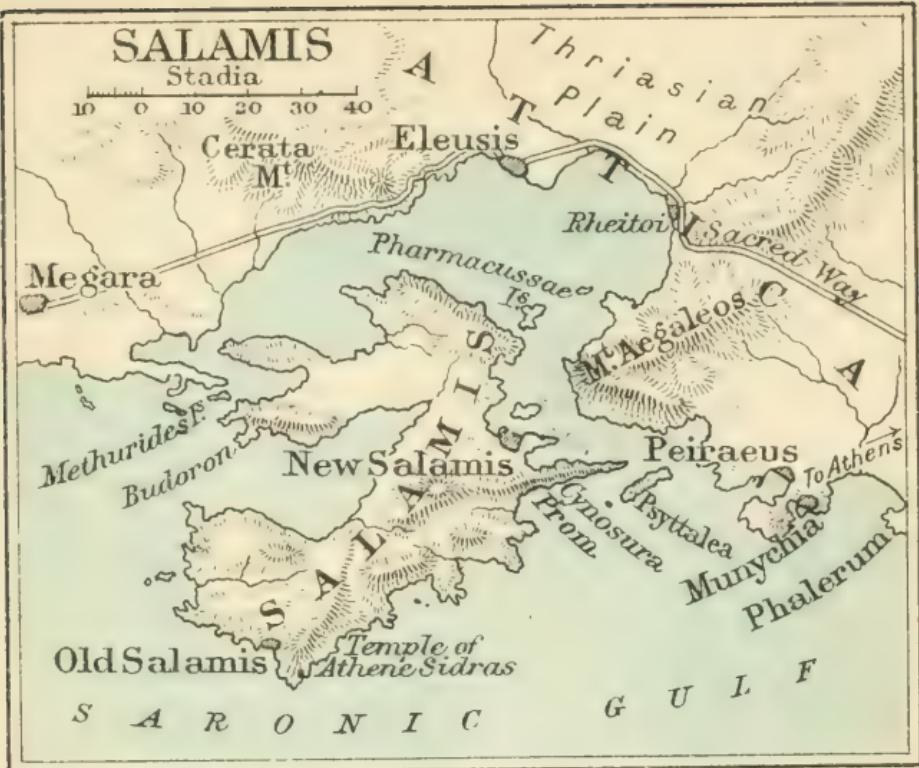
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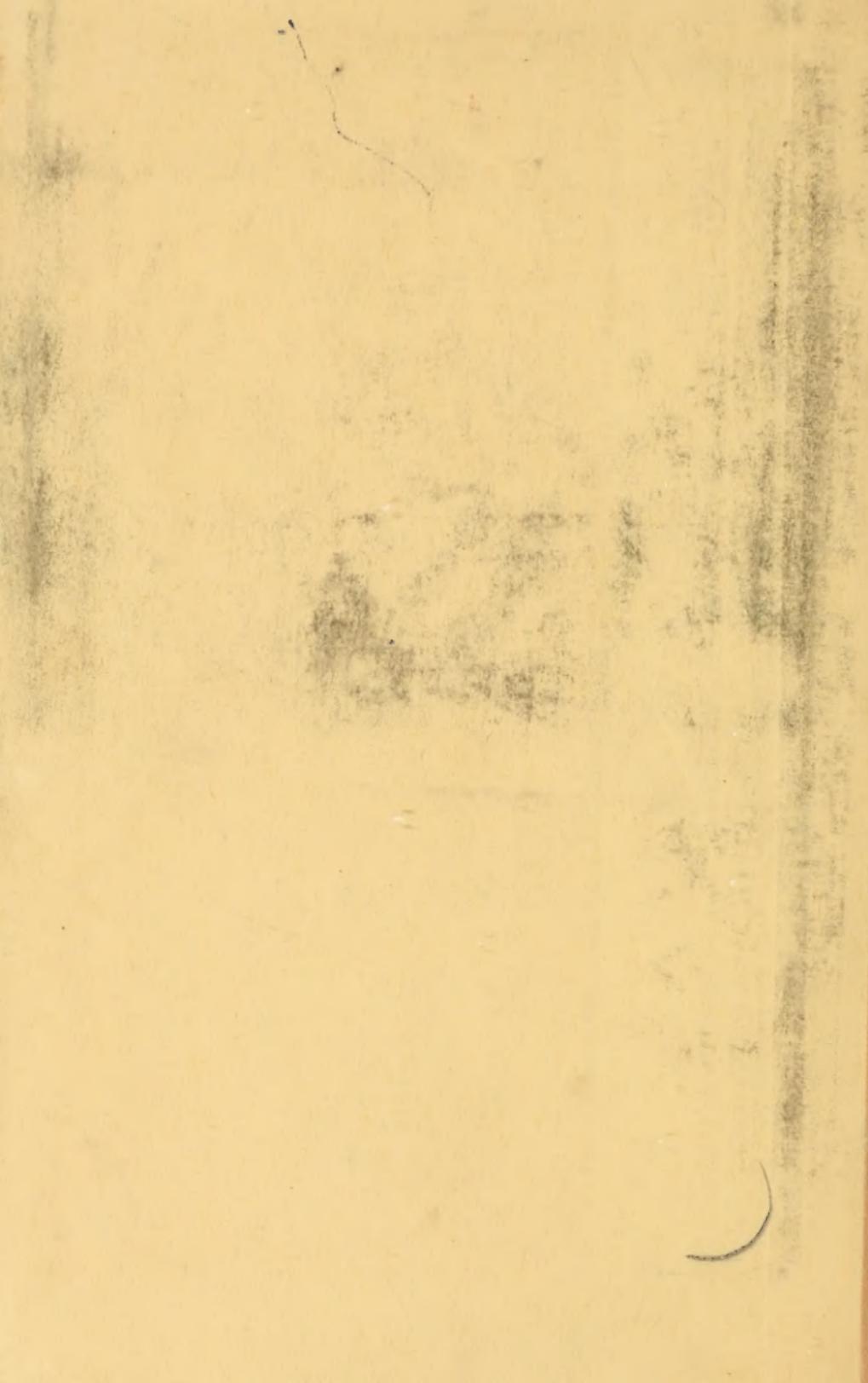
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